

# IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 3

Nov. 29 - Dec. 5, 1976

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

40 Cents



**Unions** are established in American life. Can they be more than an establishment? A labor series starts this week, **Page 7**.

Photo by Ken Firestone

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## High Noon at Capitol Dome

By Jeffrey Stein

"Oh, what a beautiful morning," warbled House Speaker Carl Albert the other morning after he and other congressional leaders met with Jimmy Carter.

He had reason to be happy. The democrats were back in power after eight years of sulking, stalling, blocking and moaning at the White House gates.

Albert had one more reason to be happy. He won't be around in January.

The lame duck Oklahoman decided not to run for re-election, and although the speeches will soon begin and the bourbon will flow over the paeons to his leadership, most congressmen will be crying crocodile tears.

He just wasn't very good—a quintessential product of the House seniority system.

Next January, almost half the Democrats who will stroll down the aisle to take their seats in the House will have been

elected since American troops left Vietnam. More than half of the whole House has served three terms or less.

That may be the key to what will be the flavor of the 95th Congress, and the fact that has turned the races for top leadership into a snake pit on both sides of the aisle.

The Republicans facing a wall of Democratic majorities and a Democratic White House won't have a chance. So, only the Democrats are worth talking about, and it looks this way:

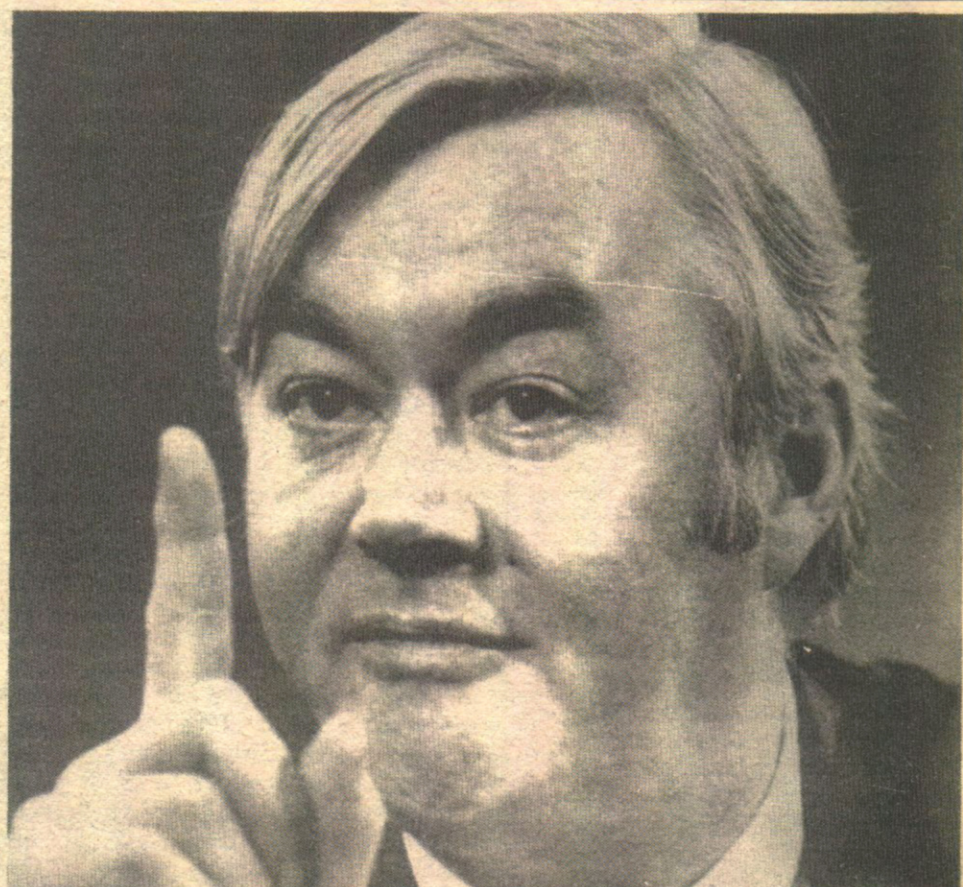
### ►Tip O'Neill.

Tip O'Neill will be Speaker of the House. O'Neill, who represents a mixed working class and student district of Cambridge, Mass., has no competition. An heir to the seat once held by James Michael Curley, a roguish Irish politician and model for the book, *The Last Hurrah*, and the same seat later held briefly by John F.

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**Gladys Knight's "Pipe Dream"**—Motown comes to Alaska. A review on **Page 18**.



**Daniel Patrick Moynihan** brings a particularly dangerous kind of thinking to the Senate, says columnist Ed Greer on **Page 23**.

Photo by United Press International



# IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published weekly by New Majority Publishing Co. Inc.  
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## News Services

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Printed at the Merrill Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.

This edition published Nov. 29, 1976, for newsstand sales Nov. 29 to Dec. 5.

# NEWSFRONT

## Whole lotta shakin' goin' on

### Israel, Angola and the U.N.

In Nairobi, Kenya, last week Israel came out of the UNESCO conference a member of its European grouping, but roundly condemned for what amounts to "cultural assimilation" in the occupied Arab territories. The vote Nov. 22 reversed a two-year ban on Israel in the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The condemnation vote meant Arab and socialist nations still oppose Israel's anti-Palestinian position. The U.S. was one of the five nations opposing the condemnation.

That same day in the U.N. Security Council, the U.S. did not veto, as it had in June, Angola's application to join the U.N., meaning Angola is expected to become that body's 146th member. China, objecting to Cuban troops in Angola, joined the U.S. in abstaining. The other 13 council members approved the application.

Meanwhile, Arab leaders on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River as well as the Bethlehem and Hebron mayors criticized Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin for his lukewarm response to the previous week's peace initiative by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Rabin's leftwing critics, as well as Moshe Dayan, the former defense minister, have come out for talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israel is entering an election year.

### Land and marijuana

In Mexico, President Luis Echeverria was holding his own until he leaves office Dec. 1, after decreeing a land confiscation, with compensation, for landless peasants in northwestern Sonora. Capitalists closed down operations Nov. 24 in protest. Like Echeverria, the recently devalued peso was holding its own. Incidentally, that devaluation, the *Arizona Daily Star* reports, has apparently triggered a boom in marijuana smuggling from Mexico into the U.S.

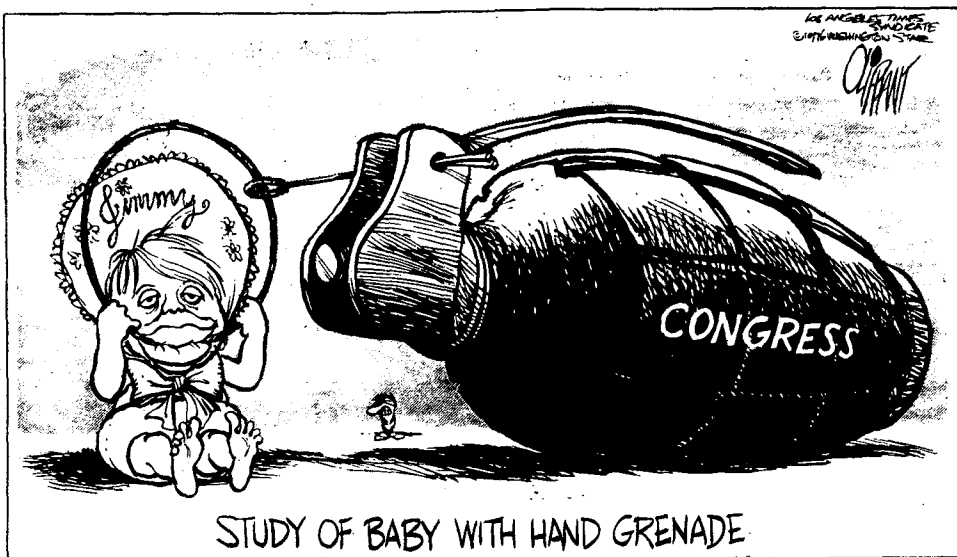
### Moscow and Bucharest

In Moscow and Bucharest Nov. 24, Eastern Europe came to the forefront. In Moscow, Andrei Sakharov, the Nobel peace prize winner, said, "I admire the boldness of our friends in Poland who in very important ways are carrying out the solidarity of the intelligentsia and workers." He was referring to Polish intellectuals who formed a Warsaw committee in September to aid families of workers jailed or sacked after food price riots in June. He asked for Eastern European cooperation in the human rights struggle.

In Bucharest, Leonid Breshnev, the Soviet Communist party secretary, and Nicolae Ceausescu, his Romanian counterpart, ended a three-day get-together with a joint declaration on expanding cooperation. The atmosphere was cooler, however, than the bonhomie witnessed the previous week between Brezhnev and Josep Tito, his Yugoslavian counterpart.

### Nuclear dust and Concorde

Two days earlier in Washington, the Environmental Protection Agency, saying it constituted no danger, pointed out there was a cloud of radioactive dust crossing the U.S. from China's atmospheric test the previous week. It even warned British Airways and Air France that the dust may drift into the path of the high-flying Concorde supersonic airliner. The four-megaton test Nov. 17 was China's largest and its fourth this year.



The U.S. Energy Research and Development Agency said the Soviet Union conducted an underground nuclear explosion the next day, its ninth of the year.

The Concorde, meanwhile, its future by no means assured because of noise complaints, was soaring in another way. British Airways and Air France reported its popularity seemed high as each airline has filled more than 80 percent of its Concorde seats—original projections were for 65 percent—since beginning the U.S.-Europe service six months ago.

### Haves and have-nots

Relations between the haves and the have-nots seemed closer to the ground, however, and Dec. 15 seemed to be a coincidental due date.

In New York Nov. 23, Big MAC officials set that date as a target for coming up with a supersonic billion dollars in city notes that are falling due. Big MAC is the Municipal Assistance Corp. that is attempting to keep the city out of receivership. The state's highest court ruled Nov. 19 Mac couldn't put off payment on notes deferred for three years.

In Paris Nov. 24, officials of a year-long North-South Dialog were trying to get around that date, which is when its ministers are scheduled to open a meeting climaxing the dialog.

"There is still a considerable gap between the views of the 19 developing countries and the eight industrial participants on important issues," Allan Macearchen, a conference cochairman, said. The conference has been negotiating on energy, raw materials, development aid and finance.

"I don't see any linkage," Macearchen said of speculation connecting the Dec. 15 meeting and a Dec. 20 oil-price-fixing meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Talk is that OPEC could moderate an oil-price increase potentially disastrous to Western economies if the West made indexing and debt-relief concessions wanted by developing nations.

### Quake in Turkey

Eastern Turkey was hit Nov. 24 with a major earthquake that left an estimated 3,000 persons dead and more than 100 villages leveled. The quake, following one that took 2,350 lives last year, was apparently the worst in that region in nearly 40 years. The area is 600 miles east of Ankara in mountains jutting from a high, rocky plateau.

### People in the news

Meanwhile, some tragic personalities were in the news last week. In Moscow, Trofim Lysenko, Stalin's favorite scientist later denounced as a charlatan, was dead at 78. In Salt Lake City, Utah,

Gary M. Gilmore, the man who would be executed but later tried suicide, will learn his legal fate Nov. 30 from the state pardons board. In Los Angeles, Patricia M. Hearst, the victim-revolutionary, was free on bail. And in Washington, J. Edgar Hoover, the late FBI director who apparently kept files on everybody, had had his personal files on them released by the Justice Department. They were censored, though.

### Carter making choices

President-elect Carter said Nov. 24 he would appoint a millionaire Georgia banker who had loaned his family nearly \$1 million for business to a cabinet-level post in his administration. The banker, Bert Lance, served as Carter's transportation secretary in Georgia, where he streamlined that department, in part by reducing the number of employees. A Carter spokesman described Lance as a fiscal conservative, like Carter. He reportedly may head the crucial Office of Management and Budget, a key position in Carter's planned reorganization of the federal bureaucracy.

From Detroit, UAW President Leonard Woodcock has told Carter he's not available for a cabinet job—at least until his union term is up in May, union officials reported Nov. 23. Woodcock was an early Carter supporter.

### Sales down, prices up

Across town the next day, three of the four major U.S. automakers reported poor to fair results on new auto sales in what is usually a heavy-selling period—the second 10 days of November. General Motors sales were up 10 percent over the year-earlier period, while Chrysler sales were up only 3 percent, Ford Motor's were down 13 percent and American Motors were off 28 percent. Traditionally, there is heavy demand for new models in the period.

In Pittsburgh, a city closely linked industrially to Detroit, there was further bad news that day. National Steel Corp., the nation's fourth largest steelmaker, and Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp., the seventh largest, announced 6 percent price increases on sheet steel, used by the auto, appliance and construction industries. The increases are scheduled for Dec. 6. The government is investigating.

### Jerry Lee miffed

Finally, Jerry Lee Lewis, the 20-year rock 'n' roller, was arrested Nov. 24 outside the home of Elvis Presley on charges of being drunk and carrying a pistol. He reportedly was miffed that Presley (both are 41) has gotten better press coverage during their careers.

Whole lotta shakin' goin' on.



Exclusive

# Shah's agents threaten students

Five men, under command of an Iranian diplomat who operates from a headquarters in the Yorkville section of New York, are among Iran's secret agents in the U.S., *In These Times* has learned.

The five are part of SAVAK, the Iranian intelligence agency. SAVAK has long harassed and intimidated Iranians who oppose the shah of Iran, may be planning murder and has the cooperation of U.S. police agencies, Iranians living here say.

An Iranian source in the U.S. with contacts inside the Iranian embassy in Washington has told *In These Times* the names of five top agents:

**Mansour Rafizadeh** heads SAVAK operations in the U.S. He holds a diplomatic passport. He came to the U.S. in 1957, was recruited to SAVAK in 1966 and received espionage training in Iran in the late '60s.

Rafizadeh works in close liaison with the FBI and CIA.

He lives in Franklin Lakes, N.J., and operates out of SAVAK's secret headquarters in the 1500 block of York Av., New York. He is building a barn in Booneville, N.Y., which Iranians charge will be used to house and torture kidnapped anti-shah dissidents.

**Manuchehr Moradi** monitors Iranians who fly to the Mideast from New York. Those who return to Iran often are arrested on arrival and face torture in the shah's jails. Arrested and charged Nov. 8 with selling stolen airplane tickets, he was immediately released.

**Jamschid Sedghi**, an insurance salesman, broadcasts a twice-weekly pro-shah radio show on New York's WHBI.

**Javad Khakbaz** edits the *Iran Times* at the Washington embassy.

**Parviz Xavieh**, who lives on Long Island, is a reporter for an Iranian newspaper.

## ►SAVAK has sections.

A spokesperson for the Iranian Students Assn., a main target of SAVAK operations, says SAVAK—like Chile's DINA, Korea's KCIA and other secret services trained by the U.S. CIA—has three U.S. sections.

One section handles pro-shah propaganda, which ranges from radio shows to financing departments in American universities; another conducts espionage, which includes harassment and threats to Iranians here, and the third does lobbying, which includes activities similar to those recently attributed to the KCIA.



Iranian students demonstrate against the shah's policies, wearing masks to avoid SAVAK persecution.

In August, Prof. Richard Cottam of the University of Pittsburgh said he was told by a State Department source that "hit squads" were planning to murder anti-shah Iranians in the U.S. The killings, he said, would be arranged by SAVAK agents who have Mafia connections.

"They will appear as ordinary muggers and kill the Iranians one by one," Cottam said.

The shah confirmed that SAVAK is active in the U.S. in a CBS-TV "Sixty Minutes" interview Oct. 24. He said it is "checking up on anybody who becomes affiliated with circles, organizations hostile to my country."

A day later, the Iranian newspaper *Kayhan* reported the shah had said if the U.S. tried to curtail SAVAK operations, he would expel CIA agents from Iran.

## ►No evidence.

The State Department didn't deny SAVAK's presence in the U.S., but said Nov. 9 there was no evidence of "illegal or improper activity" on the part of Iranian government agents.

Reza Baraheni, an outspoken Iranian poet who lives in New York and chairs the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, is a probable target for "hit squads," according to Cottam. Baraheni's life has been threatened whenever he speaks against the shah at universities; in March campus police at San Jose State in California halted an appearance because they believed Baraheni would be killed.

"They've already tried everything short of murder to silence us," Baraheni says.

Association members say harassment of their families in Iran is common. Baraheni's 20-year-old niece was arrested and tortured earlier this year and is serving a seven-year prison sentence, charged with no crime except being related to Baraheni.

Although an organization called International Brigade claimed credit for the assassination, citing as evidence their earlier killings of Venezuelan and Turkish diplomats with bullets of the same caliber, Oskui and Takbiri are being tried in France this week and face deportation to Iran.

Two international association members say murder is still possible, but they arrested last month in France and charged with the murder of Homayoun Keykavoussi, a SAVAK agent who members say posed as a diplomat.

Although an organization called International Brigade claimed credit for the assassination, citing as evidence their earlier killings of Venezuelan and Turkish diplomats with bullets of the same caliber, Oskui and Takbiri are being tried in France this week and face deportation to Iran.

## ►Attacked by police.

When Iranian students in Houston peacefully protested the arrest Nov. 10, they were attacked by police. An association spokesperson says SAVAK agents were permitted to harangue students by loudspeaker and interrogate them while the students were on a hunger strike in the Houston jail. The 91 arrested students are free, but face trial and possible deportation in December. "It's just another way to try to silence us," a member says.

The association believes Iran, with 25,000 U.S. advisers, could be the next Vietnam. They explain the suddenly oil-rich nation is the No. 1 arms buyer from the U.S. and that the shah defends U.S. corporate interests in the Persian Gulf and Mideast.

They charge his fascist regime is hated by most Iranians and only keeps power through terror, torture and execution of dissidents, amply assisted by U.S. aid. Amnesty International says Iran has "the worst record of human rights in the world."

It's crucial that Iranians abroad speak out, the association believes, because if the American people understand the shah's regime, the U.S. will be forced to curb its support. "We trust the American people," a member says. "When they know the truth, they will change the policy."

Judy Maclean

## Washington Post pressmen ready for trial

By Tim Frasca  
Washington Bureau

Washington. Fifteen of the pressmen who walked off their *Washington Post* jobs 14 months ago go on trial here Dec. 6 on strike-related charges that could send each to prison for 40 years. The liberal *Post*, meanwhile, basking in its Watergate reputation as an enemy of corruption, is actively supporting—outside the glare of its own publicity machine—criminal prosecution of part of its workforce.

The workers under indictment, all members of Local No. 6 of the Pressmen's Union, struck the *Post* Oct. 1, 1975. Contract negotiations had broken down and management had prepared for a long strike, with specially-trained management personnel ready to take over the presses and blunt the walkout's effect.

When presses that were to be taken over by strikebreakers were damaged that night, the *Post* launched a massive blitz through *Post*-controlled media (including a radio and TV station, *Newsweek* magazine and the newspaper itself) painting the action as vandalism of millions of dollars worth of equipment. Long after the moment's sensation had cooled, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter discovered that

only \$13,000 worth of equipment was replaced.

But the initial impression of "massive violence," fixed in many minds, has been the lasting one.

A grand jury was quickly convened, reportedly after a personal visit by Katherine Graham, the *Post*'s powerful publisher, to federal prosecutors. In July, after a nine-month investigation in which 88 local members were called, 15 men were indicted on charges of riot, destruction of property and assault.

Chip Berlet of the strikers legal defense committee says the investigation's length and the number of unionists called was a conscious policy designed to demoralize, intimidate and bankrupt the strikers.

## ►Maximizing profits.

The *Post* maintains of course that it bargained in good faith, made generous contract offers and was met with uncooperative attitudes from the union, followed by the pressroom destruction.

Strikers, however, deny this and point to a Graham statement to her board of directors in 1972: "The first order of business at the *Washington Post* is to maximize profits from our existing operations....Some costs resist more stubbornly than others. The most frustrating kind

are those imposed by archaic union practices....This is a problem we are determined to solve."

The story, says Local President Everett R. Forsman, is the *Post*'s relentless campaign to bust our union and destroy the pressmen and their families, a campaign that resulted in one suicide."

Less than a year after the strike began, the *Washington Post* Co. stock was skyrocketing while the market as a whole was sluggish. Explains an analyst writing in the July 25 *Washington Star*, "They've solved their labor problems."

Whether the *Post* is guilty of provoking the strike, the company was well prepared to win it. Production halted only two days, while helicopters airlifted copy to nonunion printshops in Maryland and Virginia.

"The *Post* did prove that it could print, and that was demoralizing," one newspaper stock analyst says. "Other newspaper unions....even in big labor cities like Detroit and Philadelphia, are taking a somewhat lower profile than they have in the past."

## ►None of us are safe.

Though the antiunion media blitz has been effective, many Washington unionists and union sympathizers remain de-

fenders of the pressmen. Washington Teachers Union President William Simons, now vice president-elect of the American Federation of Teachers, told the rally marking a year of the strike, "As long as management nourishes the idea that unions can be broken, none of us are safe."

The *Post*'s ability to control dissemination of news has already arisen as a major trial issue. The New York-based National Jury Project's demographic survey of the Washington area found 87 percent of the sample read the *Post* and 24 percent believed a fictitious survey question that strikers had bombed a *Post* executive's car.

"That one-quarter of those questioned actually thought we had bombed a car shows the extent to which the *Post* has poisoned the minds of potential jurors," Forsman says. "Not only has there never been a car bombing, but this absurd charge has never even been rumored."

The unionists' defenders are fairly confident about winning acquittals on all counts, but caution that "Graham is going for convictions, not solely the six weeks of antiunion publicity" the trial will generate.



# IN THE NATION

## Million-dollar Stevens' boycott

*Clothing workers begin campaigning against 'No. 1 Labor Law Violator,' the nation's 2d-largest textile conglomerate.*

By Dan Marshall  
National Staff Writer

J.P. Stevens is hardly an everyday household word to residents of Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis or a dozen other cities. But about 40,000 shoppers in these cities heard that name last month as the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union (AFL-CIO) kicked off the most ambitious consumer boycott in recent history.

J.P. Stevens and Co. manufactures bedsheets, towels, draperies, over-the-counter fabric goods and a wide range of textile products and is the nation's second-largest textile conglomerate with 85 domestic plants, most located in North Carolina, and subsidiaries in six foreign countries.

To the 44,000 people who work for it, the name Stevens means low wages, brown lung disease from breathing high levels of cotton dust, racial and sexual discrimination and a history of crushing labor unions by any means necessary.

### ►Number one labor law violator.

In 1963, the Textile Workers union set out to organize Stevens with AFL-CIO backing and a squad of organizers from other unions. The company retaliated with a barrage of not-always-legal tactics, including firing union supporters, bugging phones of union organizers and threatening to close any plant that unionized.

Stevens' conduct has won it a reputation as the nation's "No. 1 Labor Law Violator." In 13 years, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has found it guilty of breaking the law 15 times.

Stevens' pattern of labor relations was disrupted in 1974 when 3,500 Stevens

workers in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., voted for union representation. The sides have yet to achieve a contract, however.

Observers pin this failure on Stevens' refusal to even discuss two provisions contained in 95 percent of all U.S. collective bargaining agreements: a voluntary dues check-off and the binding arbitration of grievances. Without these clauses, the union says, the Roanoke Rapids local would have little financial security and would be compelled to resolve grievances by strike.

### ►Making Stevens pay.

"Stevens presumably will remain an outlaw until the company's vicious antiunion campaign becomes unprofitable," the AFL-CIO's monthly magazine said last April. To put a crimp in Stevens' profits, the labor movement has initiated a nationwide boycott of Stevens' products.

The boycott was authorized last June by the convention that merged the Textile Workers union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union into the ACTWA. The boycott has only recently been fired up, however, since the 500,000-member union placed "everything else on the back burner" until after the recent election.

The union has hired 40 staff people to work on the boycott full-time in addition to many in its regular staff for whom it will be a major commitment. A smaller staff is based in New York to coordinate boycott efforts among Catholics, Protestants, civil rights groups, students and sympathetic Stevens stockholders.

At an estimated cost of \$1 million, the boycott will involve opening offices in 27 cities, releasing a film on Stevens in

mid-January, publishing a monthly newsletter and flooding the country with educational literature.

In its early stages, the campaign will focus on institutions that use Stevens' goods.

"We'll approach hospitals, motels, hotels, jails and anyone else using linens to ask them to use discretion when placing orders," comments Stan Clair, regional director of the Amalgamated's Union Label department. They will describe Stevens' record on labor relations and civil rights, Clair explains, but avoid actions that might be interpreted as coercive when dealing with retailers.

Boycott representatives will also approach city and county governments with fair wage laws and ask them not to buy from companies that have broken the Civil Rights Act. Union charges of Stevens' discrimination against blacks and women are being investigated.

To generate publicity, the union will set up local and national citizens committees. Sources close to the boycott have told *In These Times* that Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) will be asked to become chairman of the National Citizens Committee.

Boycott supporters will leaflet department stores, apartment complexes and plant gates to inform the public of Stevens' record.

### ►Union moving cautiously.

Boycott representatives look to the successful 22-month boycott of Farah several years ago as an example of how a nationwide—and ultimately worldwide—boycott can put the economic screws on an antiunion employer.

Unlike Farah slacks, Stevens' products are often difficult to recognize because

they're marketed under many brand names. About half its goods are sold in an unfinished state to apparel manufacturers who turn them into clothing that can only be identified by registered numbers. Only 34 percent of Stevens products carry one of its own 22 brand names.

Union lawyers have decided to proceed cautiously with the boycott since recent Supreme Court decisions and NLRB rulings have clouded the definition of a secondary boycott. The union will not employ pickets in front of retail stores and only distribute leaflets a block away.

Meanwhile, in Roanoke Rapids, an "Employees Educational Committee" is petitioning the NLRB to decertify the union and stop the boycott completely. Observers suspect the effort is another item in the company's bag of antiunion tricks.

Federal government actions will strongly influence the boycott's progress. Proposed reforms of NLRB procedures may increase board enforcement powers. In addition, labor is expected to push President-elect Carter to issue an executive order prohibiting federal contracts with companies that violate NLRB directives.

However long it takes, the ACTWA is committed to breaking Stevens as the first step in organizing the textile industry.

U.S.-based corporations seem to treat the South as another country, unionists have pointed out; a place where they can shift production and find low wages, right to work laws, tax breaks and quick profits. Unless labor can successfully storm this open-shop fortress, the jobs and living standards of all working Americans will never be secure, they say. ■

## Pentagon moves to tie Carter to fat budget

*Defense submits record \$128 billion request, inflated 14 percent to cover 'cuts' by Carter.*

By John Markoff

Washington. The Pentagon in mid-November submitted a defense budget request of \$128 billion, a record increase that is more than 14 percent over last year's budget. The Office of Management and Budget will review the proposed budget before sending it to the outgoing Ford White House.

Defense Department critics claim the budget has been artificially inflated in hopes of committing President-elect Carter to a defense-spending increase.

Robert Brammer, coordinator of the National Campaign to Stop the B1 Bomber, said in an interview, "It looks like the Pentagon is trying to tie Jimmy Carter's hands by increasing defense spending far above what even President Ford wants. Carter said he is going to cut \$5 to \$7 billion out of the defense budget and the military is taking out insurance by adding \$7 billion before Carter takes office."

Until several weeks ago the Pentagon budget was even larger. The individual military services submitted requests totaling \$133.5 billion, up almost 20 percent over last year's \$112 billion record defense budget.

One key reason for this year's increase is that sophisticated new weapons systems, deferred during the Vietnam war, are entering production. All three legs of

the nuclear "triad"—land and sea-based missiles and strategic bombers—are being "modernized."

The Air Force wants \$1.5 billion for the heavily criticized B1 bomber and accelerated development of a new mobile ICBM called the MX. The Navy is asking for increased funding for the giant missile-firing Trident submarine. Spending on a new main battle tank—the XM-1—expansion of the Army from 14 to 16 divisions and a new Navy shipbuilding program are also fueling the increase.

### ►Palace intrigue and the scramble for power.

The atmosphere in postelection Washington is one of palace intrigue as Democratic advisers, out of power for eight years, jockey for positions in the Carter administration.

On Nov. 11, the Committee on the Present Danger, composed of elite foreign and military policy advisers from business and government, held a press conference here to warn that if Carter does not increase the defense budget "we'll soon be no. 2 in defense posture." The group did not call for any specific increase, but its minimum demand corresponded closely to the amount that Ford is said to support.

Three days after the committee press conference another policy-adviser group issued a study proposing a "freeze on



*In These Times* cartoon by David Hereth

U.S. and Soviet military spending and non-nuclear force levels as a first step toward controlling the worldwide arms race in conventional weapons."

The study was sponsored by the U.N. Assn. and financed by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Key members included Cyrus Vance, the former deputy defense secretary, Prof. Richard Gardner of Columbia University and lawyer Paul Warnke.

One common feature of both groups is that they are jammed with prospective Carter foreign-policy advisers. The two appear to represent the acceptable extremes of defense-spending debate in the scramble for positions in the new administration. ■

John Markoff is a writer based in Oregon, where he is an associate of the Pacific Northwest Research Center. For the last few months he has been in Washington researching defense issues.



# NPA: Fighting for the neighborhoods

By Judy Maclean  
National Staff Writer

"The city is where the life is. It's exciting. Everything's there," Gale Cincotta says. "There are people of all ages living together; city neighborhoods are like extended families."

Cincotta chairs National Peoples Action, a coalition of neighborhood groups across the country. In response to urban decay, coalition members don't flee to the suburbs, they stay and fight for neighborhood survival.

Their biggest victories have been local and national measures to curb redlining (see accompanying story). The coalition is also working to change law enforcement and lower utility rates.

The coalition has 60 affiliates. Many, like Chicago's Metropolitan Area Housing Alliance (MAHA), which Cincotta also heads, are coalitions of neighborhood groups, each with a core of activists representing thousands of people organized in block clubs.

So when MAHA goes to City Hall or NPA goes to Washington, those in power take notice. Last summer's NPA convention was a two-day blitz of federal bureaucrats.

## ►An alliance of blacks, whites and latinos.

Working on the sensitive issues of housing and neighborhood racial change, NPA has forged an impressive alliance of blacks, whites and latinos.

"They tried splitting us in the beginning," Cincotta says. "They'd say to the Spanish speaking people, we'll have a special meeting for you in Spanish. To the whites they'd say, why did you come with them, they're causing all the trouble. And to the blacks they'd say, you know they don't like you, we'll just meet with you."

"But people learn they don't win anything that way," she explains. "We're at a time in the U.S. when all neighborhoods are under the gun and nobody has a chance for any stability in their lives. People who want to preserve a black, white or mixed neighborhood have a common interest."

Marie Bryan, chair of a black group in MAHA, agrees. "Remember, we're ne-



Gale Cincotta: "Organizing brings you out. People get to know their worth."

Photo by Marc PoKempner

gotiating for something that is our lifeblood," she says.

## ►You've got to make noise.

Cincotta's involvement in housing began when she noticed the school her six sons attended in the blue-collar Chicago neighborhood of Austin was becoming overcrowded, with fewer books and other resources. It wasn't enough, she says, to "just get the kids up in the morning, make sure they're clean and send them to school."

"We learned if you don't organize and make some noise about these problems, you don't get any solutions." She worked in the PTA, and they won special classes, summer programs and construction of a new middle school.

"But these were just surface problems," she says. In 1965, local churches put up seed money to start an organization that could deal with all the neighborhood problems. Cincotta teamed with Shel Trapp, an organizer trained in the techniques of the late organizer Saul Alinsky. They have worked together ever since—today Trapp is coordinator of the National Training and Information Center, where community activists learn the techniques that built NPA.

## ►Building a broadbased organization.

Cincotta and Trapp formed block clubs that were the basis of Organization for a Better Austin. They fought slum landlords, FHA, urban renewal and worked for programs for youth and the elderly.

"With a broadbased organization, we were able to look at why the schools were having problems, what was the housing pattern. We thought we had enough power when we had 136,000 people organized." But they learned that when they kicked out a slum landlord, he would reappear in the next neighborhood. So, they formed the West Side Coalition with other groups like OBA.

Housing became the major issue for the new coalition, "because we saw that overcrowded schools and security problems depended on what was happening to the community economically," Cincotta says. "We found we were all having problems with redlining, so we worked on that."

## ►Going national.

The next big step was going national. "We'd pushed HUD here to the point where they said, we can't do any more for you, you'll have to go to Washington," she says.

On a shoestring, they rented a hall and invited groups and organizers from other states. "In this work, you're a pioneer. There's no one to say, that's not how it's been done. We just said, we're going to do it," she recalls. "We thought the same problems were plaguing people in all cities." Two thousand people from 38 states showed up, and NPA was born.

Becoming a full time leader has meant changes in her life. "Organizing brings you out," she says. "People get to know their worth, get involved, affect their lives, their community and their family's lives. It's exciting."

Being a woman has been a plus in dealing with the power structure. "So many of the bureaucrats are chauvinists, they don't quite know how to figure you out," she says.

With all the travel and visits to federal offices, does she ever miss the "old days" when she worked with neighbors on the PTA and block club? "I'm still in the neighborhood, but it's like it's a bigger neighborhood," she says. "When I go to a new city, I feel at home. I meet with neighborhood people, just like my own people."

## Redlining strangles inner cities

It happens in every city in the country. A neighborhood, frequently with a large proportion of minority residents, begins to deteriorate. The number of homeowners goes down. Absentee landlords charge higher rents for smaller spaces and refuse to make repairs. The population becomes more transient. Services, like police protection and garbage pickup, get worse. The schools become overcrowded, understaffed. Boarded-up homes and later boarded-up stores become part of the landscape. The neighborhood slowly dies.

Community groups across the country say this is not inevitable, but is the result of policies by the government, banks and real estate industry that mean millions for speculators and misery for inner-city dwellers. A crucial link is the practice of redlining.

Ten years ago, banks and realtors denied redlining existed. Today, community groups like National Peoples Action, a coalition that has fought redlining for four years, have

forced banks and government to respond.

When banks and other lending institutions refuse to make loans for mortgages and home improvements in specific neighborhoods, they in effect draw a red line around the area. In other cases lenders continue to grant loans there, but they make them hard to get—requiring higher down payments and interest rates, granting mortgages for fewer years, stalling on appraisals, or refusing loans for houses valued under a certain amount.

People who live behind the red line can't get loans to repair their houses. They can let the houses run down or they can sell.

It's hard to sell, though, when buyers can't get loans, except through the slow process of the Federal Housing Administration's program insuring loans for low-income people. A homeowner unable to finance repairs for necessary FHA inspection must turn to contractors who extend credit. That often means poor work at goug-

ing interest. The other choice is quick sales to a speculator, at less than market value.

## ►A bonanza for speculators.

Speculators have a bonanza in FHA's program. Designed to help low-income families, it has meant taxpayer's subsidizing real estate fortunes.

Speculators buy homes cheap, do quick cosmetic repairs to pass inspection and sell the homes, frequently to minority families.

They make more money if the family defaults, since FHA then pays the entire loan amount, plus interest, immediately. So, they foreclose the minute the family misses a payment, which frequently happens when the family must pay the first bills to replace the repairs the speculator didn't have done properly.

The result is a family out of a home, a speculator with thousands of dollars and another boarded-up home, one of 74,000 currently owned by HUD.

Redlining takes a neighborhood's own money out of it. In Chicago, people in five redlined neighborhoods

had put \$144 million into savings and loans. Yet they got back only \$648,000 in mortgages. The rest of the their money was invested in wealthier city areas or in the suburbs.

## ►A tool to fight with.

Activists now have tools to fight the practice. NPA and other groups fought for a federal law, which took effect in October, requiring lenders to disclose where they make their loans. Community groups plan to use the information to pressure institutions to change their practices. So far, this has succeeded in a few places, such as Chicago's Pioneer National Bank and Trust. Groups also plan to use the information to fight for national anti-redlining legislation.

Disclosure is a step toward stopping redlining, in turn a step in stopping the decay of cities. "Few people realize it yet," Gale Cincotta, the NPA chair, says, "but disclosure represents an awfully big victory for cities across the country. It just could guarantee survival."

—Judy MacLean



# New start for rural America?

*Des Moines conference weighs future of rural issues under Carter*

By Judy Strasser

Des Moines, Iowa. President-elect Carter marks a "new beginning" for rural America.

That, in a nutshell, was the message presented to farmers, poverty workers, environmentalists and community activists who gathered here Nov. 14-16 for the second National Conference on Rural America. The conference was convened by Rural America, Inc., a Washington, D.C.-based coalition of individuals and organizations interested in problems of housing, education, health, poverty and land use in nonmetropolitan areas.

Carter's success two weeks earlier set a jubilant tone. Opening speakers Max Baucus, a second-term Democratic Representative from Montana, and Clay Cochran, chairman of Rural America's board, used Carter's victory to rally troops for a fresh charge on the nation's capital. With sufficient prodding, they said, the new president might respond to rural needs when he fills positions in the agriculture, labor and interior departments and when he sets budget priorities.

Cochran attacked as silly and unsupportable the idea "that the cities can blossom and their luxuries shame the ancients while we turn rural America into a strip mine...and a great womb from which we empty the brightest and best each generation." He criticized "a few giant agribusiness conglomerates" for "poisoning the land and water and the people."

"We should use every device...to see that every program of government is shaped and reshaped to serve rural people," he said.

Baucus, likewise, warned that "large corporations and particularly large cities will also be pressing their claims" on Carter. "We haven't a moment to lose," he said. "Finally there is a chance that all of our planning and all of our small-scale experiments within our local communities can influence national policy and spread back across the country in large-scale ways."

## ►An undercurrent of doubt.

Despite the optimism emanating from the speakers' platform, however, an undercurrent of doubt and even mistrust ran through the conference. These feelings surfaced at a session on energy and rural people.

Panelist Louise Dunlap of the Environmental Policy Center in Washington noted "this conference has been generously funded by a lot of rural electric co-operatives." (Other sponsors included the Laborers' International Union, the National Farmers Union, the Rural Housing Alliance, the Small Towns Institute and the United Steelworkers of America.)

"I think we need to contemplate...where the future of rural areas is being taken by the rural electrics. Specifically, in Washington there is no more effective lobby force against the Federal Stripmine Bill than that being conducted by the National Rural Electric Cooperatives Assn.," (a conference contributor), she said.

Members of Congress respond to lobbying by rural electric coops because they have a "fine reputation" for their support of housing, education and other social services to rural America, Dunlap said. But she questioned whether those services are "going to be provided in the future for rural industrial development or for maintaining rural agricultural economies?"

Her criticism of the association and its cooperative members for favoring growing industrial interests in rural areas received the most generous applause of any conference statement.

Other conference contradictions indicated the weakness of this 18-month-old coalition.

Few members of minority groups could be counted among the 400 to 500 participants. A panel on "The Hired Farm-



Photos by Jane Melnick, from Vermont Media Show

worker" included a white priest, Rev. James Vizzard, representing the United Farm Workers, but no Chicanos or any representative of black sharecroppers. A handful of native Americans attended a panel discussion of "Indians and the Land" which included two native American speakers, but Indians participated very little in the other sessions.

The scarcity of minority voices severely limited the range of economic and political dialog. For example, Archbishop Ignatius Strecker of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference offered a session on "Uses and Abuses of Eminent Domain." He concluded that "private property assures...the rightful enjoyment not only of economic freedom, but political, cultural and religious freedom as well."

No black person was present to challenge the archbishop's statement, although historical studies of black land-ownership in the U.S. indicate private property rights have assured blacks little but constant economic, political and cultural pressure to forfeit their land to whites.

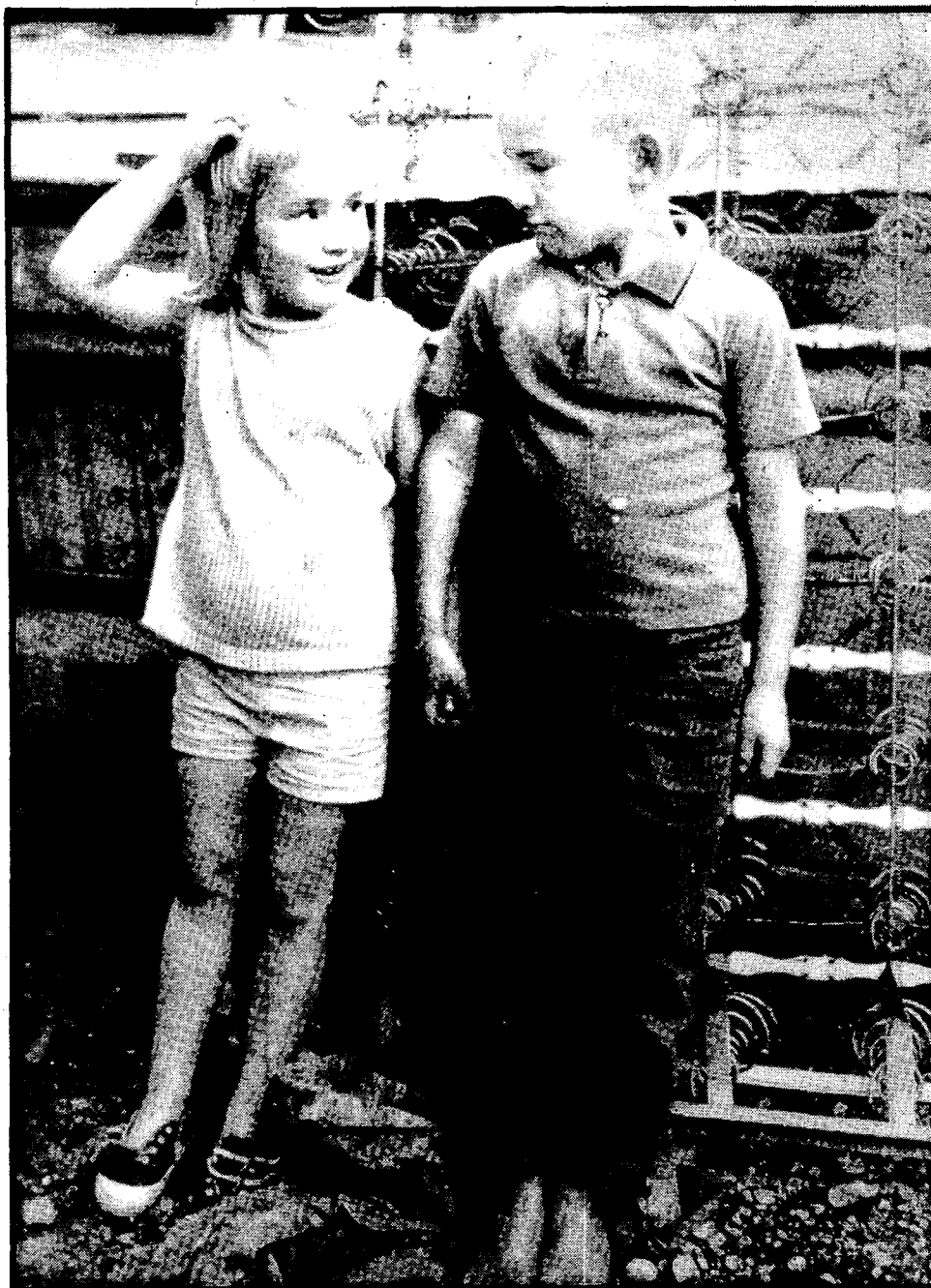
Similarly, no native American rose to challenge the archbishop's notions that "the most basic type, the most sacred kind" of land tenure is private ownership, and that other forms of landholding lead inevitably to totalitarianism.

## ►Dismay outside conference halls.

Outside conference halls, some participants expressed dismay at the direction they thought rural America Inc. has taken since its first conference which attracted nearly 2,000 people.

"There were a lot more minorities," said a man who was at the April 1975 conference. "And people knew they couldn't count on Ford or Butz for anything, so there was less talk about how to work within the system."

"The conference itself is like rural



America," a rural sociologist commented toward the end of the second day. "Look at the way people sit. The 'experts' present the 'truth' from the podium up front. Everyone else is spread out all over these big hotel rooms. They sit by

themselves or in small groups with lots of empty space in between. These people aren't together. It may be a new beginning, but we have a long way left to go." Judy Strasser is a writer based in Madison, Wis., who specializes in land use and agricultural issues.



## Series on labor movement, No. 1



Photos at left and right are from the traveling bicentennial exhibition, *On the Job in Illinois*:

*Then and Now*, organized by the Illinois Labor History Society.

Photo at left is by Don Rucker, at right by Les Orear. The three middle photos are by Sydney

Harris, whose work also appears in the exhibition.

# Labor movement—stuck but stirring

*In this issue we begin a series on the American labor movement. It will be followed by other such series, and this newspaper will also present on-going coverage of the labor scene. It is our way of saying that an informed and realistic understanding of the labor movement is essential to socialists.*

*The trade union movement is not the whole of the labor movement, but unions are the most powerful sustained organizations of the working class, and they are second only to corporate power as the most effective force in American politics. Our coverage of the labor movement will not be limited to the trade unions, but it will give them the attention and emphasis called for by their importance.*

*The trade union movement stands at a crossroad in its own history that may very well correspond with a turning point in American history.*

By David Moberg  
National Staff Writer

"A lot of young people ridicule the labor movement," Mary Beth Guinen complained. "They see it as old guard, racist and fusty."

Before joining the staff of the Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO) a few years ago, she felt that way too. Now the faults look less glaring. "At first when I came in," she said, "it seemed like there was a locker room atmosphere. Here were all these crewcut guys out of the '50s telling 'funny' sexist jokes. Hadn't they heard of the cultural revolution?"

"But they'd change—and deep. On Monday they'd be macho, but later in the week they'd hold a picket sign for the ERA. These guys really can change. I've never seen any deep racism or sexism. They're really tuned into human rights."

Conflicting images cloud the picture of trade unions in this country. Most people have contradictory impressions of unions, and the labor movement itself is a most peculiar animal of many inharmonious parts.

Guinen's union—with 550,000 members, the 3th largest AFL-CIO union—reveals some of those clashing facets of unionism. Once corrupt and tightly run from the Mafia-tainted top on down, it organized mainly janitors. Now many of

its locals initiate demands for more worker control of their work, stress union democracy and actively organize service, white-collar and professional workers. Once the past union president was Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's loyal lieutenant. Now, during the Democratic primary this year, the union's leadership endorsed former Sen. Fred Harris (D-Okla.)

## ►Can't write off labor movement.

If the labor movement drift since the post-war purges has been toward caution, collaboration, conservatism and occasional outright corruption, it is impossible to write off the entire movement in those terms.

Union bureaucracies certainly have become entrenched at the expense of members, minorities, women and the unorganized. Even when active they usually have at heart the interests of members only and not other workers. Frequently they devote organizing time and money to raiding other unions.

Yet they are also changing, either under pressure from their ranks or in response to economic vicissitudes. Even though they lack a sense of mission, they still represent by far the strongest voice speaking in behalf of American workers. Even though they have consistently acted as brakes on more radical social change, and as buttresses of capitalism, they have been instruments of beneficial reforms. Their members often bitterly hate their union, but their members will vigorously fight anyone who would destroy it.

## ►A new generation of leaders.

The established leadership of older white men who have long been in power may soon be changing. There's a generation gap in union staffs, according to Frank Rosen, Chicago district director of the United Electrical Workers.

"A bunch of us in our 50s are training people in their 20s, and there aren't many people 35 to 50," he said. "In a few years the unions will be led by very young people," some drawn from the ranks and others from the social movements of the late sixties.

With that there may also come a change in abilities and motivation, since many young labor activists see the union as a cause and not just a job.

"Except for the ideologically motivated," one labor leader said, "the labor movement ever since the McCarthy per-

iod has been run by second-raters—not too competent and backward politically."

## ►Trying to keep things calm.

It was not just incompetence that distressed one new union organizer, but even more the prevailing union view of disputes as problems to cool out rather than to develop into a mass movement. "This is completely different from community organizing, where there's the effort to keep things hot," he said. "Here you're trying to keep things calm, maybe getting hot once every three years for a new contract."

Even then the question may be one of "what will the members buy" rather than "what can the union win." Jesse Prosten, vice president and director of the packing house division of the Amalgamated Meatcutters, was critical of those in the labor movement "who prefer the role of nice guy—if you spit in my eye, I say it's raining"—as opposed to frank, open confrontation on the issues whether with bosses or fellow unionists. They prefer to accept the least common denominator in the settlement of an issue rather than fight for the higher goals they know the organized strength of their membership can achieve—if they fight for it.

"I'm talking about the attitude that says 'if the workers will buy it, adjust the lesser concession instead of urging them to persist in their ambitious goals.'"

"It's the attitude, be it of a business agent or any other union official, that says, 'Let's get a settlement and get out,'" he added. "It's the school of thought that will give a million reasons why something can't be done before offering one reason to justify it. The level of the workers' sights can be raised as their representatives help them to see the higher sights. But too many leaders in the labor movement have become too conservative to remember that they attained leadership originally because they were militants themselves. They've forgotten who they represent."

## ►Who do unions represent?

Who do they represent? Accelerated organizing, from 1972 on, slightly reversed the decisive trend since the mid-fifties for unions and related groups to grow more slowly than the labor force. In 1974, 24.5 percent of the labor force belonged to unions and professional and state public employee associations (such as nurses

and teachers associations). The highwater mark was about 35 percent in unions, not counting the associations, in 1945 and again in 1954.

The changing balance of jobs in favor of service and clerical positions and the declining percentage of traditionally unionized blue-collar factory jobs partly accounts for the decline. But the overall figures are also misleading.

Dividing the workforce into five skill categories, Boston College economist Barry Bluestone figures that roughly half of all workers in the lower three categories are unionized.

Some industries, such as transportation, transportation equipment, electrical machinery and contract construction, are heavily unionized. Over three-fourths of those workers are in unions.

Other industries, such as textiles, service, government, agriculture, trade and finance, are largely unorganized, with less than a fourth in unions.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that between half and three-fourths of workers in primary metals, food products, mining, clothesmaking, petroleum, general manufacturing and telephone are unionized. Between a fourth and a half of the workers in printing, utilities, chemicals and machinery, for example, are in unions.

By far the greatest growth recently has been among public employees. Overall, the percentage of white-collar workers in trade unions has grown to slightly less than a fourth of total membership.

But at the same time, in some traditional strong union areas—printing, construction and even manufacturing—there have been declines, often very steep.

## ►Six states have over half of union members.

What group of workers is most likely to be organized? It's black men working in low- or medium-skilled jobs in California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio or Michigan. Over half of the union members in the U.S. live in those six states.

Living in a state with a right-to-work law, mainly in the South, cuts the chance of union membership in half.

A 1970 survey showed 29 percent of black male wage-and-salary workers were in unions, compared with 27.6 percent of white men. However, that is largely because blacks are concentrated in lower-

continued on page 21



## Korean disclosures: D.C. gets hotter

The story of improper and illegal lobbying by South Koreans in the U.S. continues to heat up, throwing renewed doubt on the future of relations between the U.S. and the Park Chung Hee regime.

The *Chicago Tribune*, in a copyrighted story Nov. 25, revealed that at least one Republican congressman has admitted that someone, apparently from the Korean embassy, attempted to give him an envelope filled with \$100 bills.

Rep. Larry Winn (R-Kan.) said that he ordered his secretary to return the envelope after he discovered what was in it, and that she found the man who had delivered it making the rounds of other Capitol Hill offices.

Winn's revelation confirmed earlier statements by Jai Hyon Lee, a Korean diplomat who received asylum in the U.S. in 1973, who has said that he saw the Korean ambassador stuffing \$100 bills into plain white envelopes and departing for Capitol Hill. (See *In These Times*, Nov. 15, 1976.) Winn, however, told the *Tribune* that the man who gave him the envelope was not the Korean ambassador.

On Nov. 21, former secretary of defense Melvin Laird called for the removal of 40,000 American troops stationed in South Korea and said that those troops would have been withdrawn in 1972 but for pressure from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the National Security Council.

### ► Jack Anderson involved.

Also on Nov. 21, muckraking columnist Jack Anderson, in an uncomfortable role reversal, resigned his directorship of the Diplomat National Bank of Washington, which is heavily infiltrated by South Koreans named in the continuing investigations. Anderson said his involvement in the bank was a humanitarian gesture to help serve the Asian-American community and that he had no financial interest in the bank itself. Apparently, however, he has had financial involvements with some of his co-directors on the bank's board.

Anderson denied any wrongdoing to *In These Times* and said that the operations of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, whose associates are deeply involved in the bank, on Capitol Hill "are a far more serious threat to the nation than any involvement he may have with an inconsequential bank."

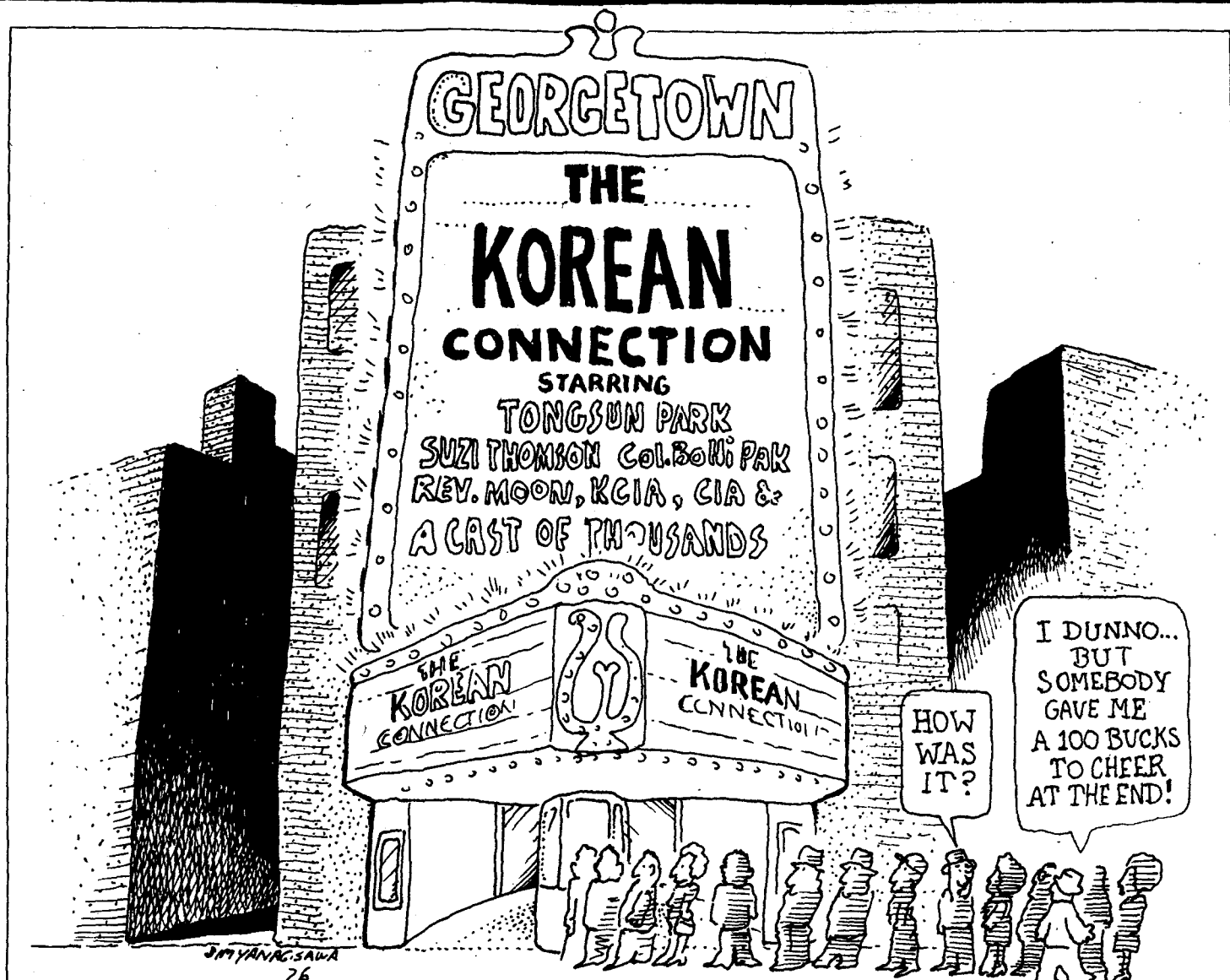
The *Chicago Tribune*, again on Nov. 21, revealed that Justice department and Congressional investigators are looking into the possibility that Tongsun Park, the Korean entrepreneur in the center of the controversy, had ties to the U.S. CIA, in addition to already alleged ties to the Korean CIA. The CIA denies any direct connection, but has apparently acknowledged that it may have had some financial dealings with Park and, at the very least, had maintained a file on him and his activities since 1968.

### ► Nixon administration did nothing.

A parallel story by the *New York Times* said that not only had the Nixon administration failed to curb improper activities by Koreans in the U.S., but that officials at various levels in the government regularly provided informal guidance and assistance for those activities.

Donald Ranard, director of the Office of Korean Affairs in the State department from 1970 to 1974, told the *Times* that nothing was done about the Korean lobby because "we were in the position where we thought we needed them in Vietnam."

"The Korea lobby," he said, "was to be left alone."



## The changing of the guard

### Some of the issues...

Washington. Though President-elect Carter and aides are advancing with caution, shock waves are regularly emanating from their encampment here—stimulated by announced intentions, informed hints and in some cases mere repetition of campaign generalities. But at the same time, a massive transition effort is indeed underway to find 1,000 political appointees and to ease the new management onto the federal bureaucracy.

Carter, responding to a question Nov. 16 about American support for dictatorial regimes, reaffirmed a campaign position: "The allocation of foreign aid and the normal friendship of our country would be determined or affected certainly by the attitude of those countries toward human rights."

The next day Chile's ruling junta, also expecting a new round of criticism from the U.N., announced release of about 280 political prisoners, insisting rather lamely that Carter's statement had nothing to do with it.

Such departures from Kissinger foreign policy were rare, however, as Carter promised a "smooth and orderly transition in foreign policy matters. Emerging from consultation with the outgoing secretary of state, the president-elect said flatly, "There is no incompatibility between us."

Meanwhile, a new round in New York's endless fiscal crisis, sparked by a New York Supreme Court decision, was met with an uncharacteristic relaxed optimism. Mayor Abraham Beame assured New Yorkers Carter had expressed "sympathy" for the city's plight and the *New York Times* contrasted the mood with last year's "gloom, uncertainty, near panic and frenzied improvisation."

Unemployment is the No. 1 issue for the Carter constituency, and some form of stimulus to the nation's economy is universally expected to lower the official 7.9 percent jobless rate. A tax cut appears highly likely, especially if fourth-quarter growth statistics are poor, as expected, although Carter said Nov. 23 he was by no means committed to cutting taxes.

Another option, monetary expansion to drive down interest rates and induce

investment, has already met opposition from Arthur Burns, the conservative Federal Reserve Board chairman whose appointment leaves him beyond Carter's political reach until 1978. Conciliatory statements on both sides have temporarily—but unconvincingly—papered over the split.

A federal jobs program is another possibility with many in Congress looking eagerly to the estimated \$5 billion savings that would result from cancellation of the B1 bomber program, which is given only a 50-50 chance of surviving Carter's first year.

A new farm policy may be in the offing too. Carter people reportedly have told Western European representatives that a restored Commodity Credit Corp. may begin buying surplus grain and storing it to provide for world emergencies and to keep prices stable.

Hamilton Jordan, 31, who heads Carter's personnel search, says Carter's cabinet will include a "mix...people from all over the country, men, women, people of different races, different philosophical views." Carter plans to personally appoint the top 75 administrators, especially those going to the all-important Office of Management and Budget, which will have broad oversight and policy formulation responsibilities.

The president-elect is spending his days meeting with many Ford administration officials, including Ford himself, and has scheduled meetings with "leading businessmen"—arranged by Coca-Cola's J. Paul Austin—for later in the year.

As for the estimated 5,000 Schedule C political appointees who are scrambling for new jobs, Washington expresses only the minimum sympathy. "The 'outs' knew the rules of the game and they played," said one "in."

Besides, according to a recent study, government employees with five years' experience above \$37,000 a year make on the average double what they left behind in earnings when they came to Washington. For bureaucracy veterans, unemployment is an issue—not an experience.

—Washington Bureau

### And people

By Robert Trautman  
Reuter News Service

Washington. President-elect Carter's choices for senior State Department posts are a close secret, but the makeup of his foreign-policy transition team indicates they may be men less pragmatic and more idealistic than those in power.

The transition team is led by Anthony Lake, a former aide to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. He quit his post as a National Security Council official over former President Nixon's 1970 decision to invade Cambodia.

Another member is international economist C. Fred Bergsten, also a former Kissinger aide who quit over policy differences. He felt Kissinger did not attach enough importance to economic issues in formulating foreign policy.

Still another is David Aaron, formerly an aide to liberal Sen. Walter Mondale, now vice president-elect. He was also on the staff of the Senate Intelligence Committee, which was highly critical of operations of the U.S. foreign intelligence community.

There are bound to be strained moments when Lake, 36, Bergsten, 35, and Aaron, 38, become deeply involved in policy questions with men who were their former colleagues.

Most of the men who run the department are older than the Carter team and many were responsible for policies in Vietnam and elsewhere that prompted the resignations of Lake and Bergsten and the criticism leveled by the Senate committee.

Moreover, Lake filed a lawsuit against Nixon, Kissinger and others after he quit his NSC post. He contended his privacy was invaded by wiretaps ordered by the Nixon administration on his telephone to try to discover the source of confidential information being leaked to newspapers.

Carter has given no hint whom he will pick to succeed Kissinger or who will fill the more senior department jobs. But it seems likely Lake, Bergsten and Aaron will eventually be named to senior posts in the Carter foreign policy organization.



# IN THE WORLD

## World leaders gather for Socialist Congress

By Mohsin Ali  
Reuters News Service

Geneva, Switzerland. Leaders of 50 political parties linked to the Socialist International, along with several heads of government, had a special congress Nov. 25-28 to put their house in order.

The 13th congress of the London-based organization found its affiliated parties split on such questions as cooperation with Communists, West European political and economic integration and the Arab-Israeli dispute.

Main congress themes were: "Toward a New World Economic Order, European Security and East-West Detente, Democratic Socialism and Human Rights in the World Today and the Economic and Political Situation in the Third World."

Government leaders attending included Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Senegalese President Leopold Senghor, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Dutch Prime Minister Joop den Uyl and Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares.

The sessions were held in the modernistic, heavily guarded building of the International Labor Organization (ILO).

The international has 56 affiliated political parties, mainly in Western Europe, and 19 of its member parties are in government in their countries. The movement affects the lives of about 250 million people. It was founded in London in 1864 by Marx but there was a split when Communists formed the Comintern after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The present international of social democratic parties was itself reconstituted in London immediately after World War II.

James Callaghan, the British Labor party prime minister, had planned to attend but canceled because of urgent parliamentary and government business.

Senghor, Perez and Schmidt made major policy speeches on economic and political relations between developing nations and industrialized democracies.

Rabin and Briton Michael Foot spoke in the debate on "Helsinki—What Next?"

The debate analyzed prospects for East-West detente and reviewed results of last year's 35-state European Security Conference in the Finnish capital.

Western governments feel the Soviet Union and other Eastern European states have been slow to implement some aspects of the Helsinki declaration, particularly those dealing with human rights, greater travel and more flow of information between Eastern and Western Europe.

Former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt was elected the international's first president at the opening plenary session Nov. 26, which was presided over by French Socialist leader Francois Mitterrand. Brandt, 62, chairman of the ruling West German Social Democratic party, won the Nobel peace prize in 1971. ■

### U.N. criticizes Chile

United Nations. The U.N. General Assembly's Social Committee adopted Nov. 23 a resolution calling on Chilean authorities to restore basic human rights and to stop using torture.

The resolution also expressed "profound indignation" that constant and flagrant human rights violations continue to take place in Chile.

—Reuters



## Counterattack against British House of Lords

London. Britain's Labor government said Nov. 24 that it will drive ahead with a bill to nationalize aircraft and shipbuilding industries despite possibly fatal opposition in Parliament.

The government said it will also go ahead with another proposal certain to cause storms in the weary and divided Parliament: Granting of self-governing powers to Scotland and Wales, a move that many politicians feel could lead to breakup of the United Kingdom.

Government intentions were read by Queen Elizabeth in the ceremonial opening of a Parliament session two days after the old one ended in acrimony.

The 12-month session will be so stormy that some do not expect the Labor government to survive.

The government, despite an effective majority of only two in the House of Commons, plans a counterattack against the House of Lords, the nonelected and Conservative-dominated upper chamber that has been blocking much of its socialist legislation.

In the next weeks the government is also expected to draw plans to satisfy conditions of a \$3.9 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund.

International bankers reportedly want Britain to cut overspending and harsh measures are anticipated with possible

cuts in government social programs and increases in indirect taxes.

The government has been under pressure from its left wing and trade unions to avoid cuts in public spending and strains are expected in the "social contract," the pact by which unions have been restraining wages in return for social reform measures.

It is because of its union commitments that the government has been so determined to push through the laws.

To Labor cheers, Industry Minister Eric WVarley said Nov. 22 the government Varley said Nov. 22 that the government shipbuilding bill.

Under complicated rules governing powers of the Lords, the government will be able to force the bill through fairly quickly, if it can command a majority of the House of Commons.

But even its two-vote majority there depends on two Scottish independents and two independents from troubled Northern Ireland who number many anti-British republicans among their constituents.

Some Labor circles have renewed the debate over whether the House of Lords should be abolished and energy Minister Tony Benn, who renounced his own title in 1960, has said he expects Britons to elect a party committed to this. —Reuters

## Rhodesian future in doubt

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. High-level U.S. government sources estimate nationalist guerillas would defeat the white-minority Rhodesian government within 18 months if the Geneva talks collapse, black Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) said Nov. 24.

Diggs was speaking after arriving from Lusaka on a one-month African tour.

He quoted "informed sources" in the U.S. as saying that if Rhodesian guerillas were supported by Cuban troops, "It would be all over in six months." If only

Cuban officers participated, it would take 12 months, he said, adding "With no Cubans at all, informed sources at the highest levels of our government say the armies of the freedom movement would beat the Rhodesians in 18 months"

Diggs said he believed a peaceful settlement could be achieved "if the racist minorities in Rhodesia and South Africa will understand what the alternatives are and make appropriate concessions."

—Reuters

## IN SHORT

### U.S. 'dumped' Agee?

London. James Angleton, the former CIA counterintelligence chief, has indicated the U.S. government may have played a role in the British government's decision to expel CIA critic Philip Agee from England.

Angleton, in a TV interview broadcast here the weekend before last, said the CIA was "somewhat displeased" over the British government's earlier decision to grant Agee a "safe haven" in Britain.

Ironically, Angleton's remarks were taped before Agee was ordered expelled from Britain, but were broadcast two days after the decision was announced. At the time of the announcement, British officials denied the U.S. government had exerted any pressure to expel Agee.

—Zodiac News Service

### Korean pullout backed

Washington. Melvin Laird, the former defense secretary, said in a *Washington Post* interview Nov. 21 that the U.S. should withdraw its 30,000 ground troops from South Korea.

He said South Korea doesn't need U.S. ground troops, American manpower is not the important thing and South Korea has a 2-to-1 edge over North Korea in ground troops. Laird said he thought 7,000 air force personnel stationed in Korea should remain.

President-elect Carter went on record in the election campaign as favoring a phased withdrawal of U.S. troops. Laird is the first important defense figure to publicly support the idea.

—Internews

### Spain lifts ban

Madrid. To the popping of champagne corks and chants of "long live freedom" the Spanish Communist party last week handed out membership cards for the first time since the civil war 40 years ago.

The campaign began as the government announced a referendum Dec. 15 for political reforms calling for general elections before June to a new two-chamber parliament.

The following night, Nov. 24, about 400 people, most of them women, staged a rare feminist demonstration calling for legalization of divorce and abortion and for other women's rights. Police allowed the women and men to march a few miles through central Madrid before breaking up the demonstration.

—Reuters

### Cuba—1, U.S.—0

Havana. Cuba Nov. 24 strongly criticized the U.S. for pulling out of the forthcoming world amateur baseball championship because of insufficient funds to pay for the team's trip to Colombia.

Cuba holds the world's amateur baseball championship and obviously was looking forward to the Colombia tournament as an opportunity to beat the American team.

"In the end, the Americans have been defeated by scratch, which in Yankee language will from now on mean shamelessness in the world of baseball.

"The Americans have been defeated by their own imperialist government," Gramma, the official government newspaper, said

—Reuters



# French feminism: a fight on two levels

By Michelle Osborn

Philadelphia. In 1971, the "Manifesto of 343 Women" dared the French government to prosecute celebrities like Francoise Sagan, Catherine Deneuve, Gisele Halimi and others who broke the 1920 French law against abortion. A year later, Halimi founded, with Simone de Beauvoir, Choisir, the French feminist organization.

Choisir counts 10,000 dues-paying members in 60 groups throughout France; 65 percent of its membership is from the working class and its aim is to become a mass movement.

Halimi herself is a glamorous woman. Glamour and a mass movement for women in France have a logic of their own. The hierarchy and patriarchy of the Catholic French tradition, Halimi puts it, "tells you that you are beautiful and why should you work? Unhappily, many women are believing that."

Halimi is a living message to French women that they can be "beautiful" and they can work; they can accept some conventional roles—those of wife and mother, for instance—and reject others—that they have the right to choose.

Halimi and Choisir's national secretary, Rita Thalmann, directress of the German Studies Institute at the University of Tours, recently made a trip to the U.S. in which Halimi was the keynote speaker at a two-day symposium at Bryn Mawr College on "The French Woman Today."

At a luncheon Thalmann says she came to feminism from the labor movement.

"For 15 years I did what they expected me to do, and then I said one day, no more."

Although she and Halimi agree the labor movement is as bad as other social structures when it comes to women, in Thalmann's opinion, Choisir cannot afford not to make a liaison with the Confederation General de Travail, the French umbrella labor organization.

## ►House was bombed.

Born in Tunisia in 1927 to a poor family—her father was an errand boy—Halimi is one of perhaps 20 women trial lawyers in France, the only lawyer to sign the manifesto. She was arrested and her house was hit with plastic bombs for her support of the Algerian liberation movement. Afraid for her sons' lives, she took another name and went underground.

In 1962, Halimi wrote her first book (she has written three more since), *Djamila Boupacha*, about a young Algerian activist who had been tortured, raped by French paratroopers and condemned to death for her activities. The book, which was illustrated by Picasso and had an introduction by DeBeauvoir, is an account of Boupacha's trial. She was defended by Halimi.

Halimi and DeBeauvoir met when they were both working against DeGaulle during the 1958 referendum. Since then she has become DeBeauvoir's lawyer, as she is Romain Gary's, Jean Paul Sartre's and Francoise Sagan's. Of the *Second Sex*, Halimi said on Philadelphia public radio, that the book remains the great work on feminism, lacking only in the political dimension. DeBeauvoir "thought at this moment there was no use for feminist women to be together; she said only that socialism could make women free, but now she's changed," Halimi says. "Both of us...think we have two levels to fight on...."

Halimi is a feminist first, a socialist second.

In an earlier press interview, Halimi said "socialism is necessary but it's not sufficient. It's not sufficient because we know that in the Socialist party in France or in any other country...women do not participate in the decision; I mean, that they are just at the bottom of the pyramid, but they are never on the top."

"The men are glad, of course, to say, well, in our socialist party or in govern-

ment, we have 10 percent women, but they have no power. They don't make decisions.

"And that is very important for women—to fight to be on the top of the pyramid with men. But that is the first level of struggle. It's the political level, but it's not enough."

## ►Left needs her.

Halimi is practiced at interviews and uses her celebrity status as a political lever. She says with pride that the left turns to her because it needs her. She tells of running as an independent for the Chamber of Deputies from a Paris bourgeois residential neighborhood, gaining the backing of three leftwing groups and drawing three times more votes than any other left candidate ever.

In the radio interview, she said feminism is "a political problem for the left parties in France because they did not believe that women could make a feminist group that would be different than other intellectual small groups."

And again:

"The main problem for our movement is to find appropriate links with the political parties. Because it's true for me, you can't be [on the] right and feminist. But if you are in [a] left party, you won't have any [power to make] decisions. It's a step back again. I think the main research [that] feminists must do [should be directed at] how to go with...political change; how to join with the socialist parties, but not to be eaten by them."

During Choisir's first effort to repeal the French abortion law—which resulted in the "loi Simone Veil" Jan. 17, 1975, making abortion and birth control freely available to girls and women—the alignment was Protestant and Socialist for repeal, Catholic and rightwing against. Francois Mitterand, the Catholic Socialist party leader, was torn. The Socialists—"very conservative," Halimi says—proposed a review panel for women who wanted abortions.

In a Latin country, machismo is a powerful cultural force; Halimi often mentions how Frenchmen fear attacks on their virility. She ascribes the defeat by the Council of Ministers of a proposal

for parental work leaves to this fear. Such leaves, which exist in Sweden, would have advanced the interchangeability of sex roles after childbirth. The proposal was rejected out of hand by the council: "Even if you are a minister, you are a man."

## ►Rape is the major battle.

Abortion, for now, is a battle won in France—at least until 1980, when the law is up for review.

Now Choisir's major battle is rape. Rapists are not tried in criminal courts: French law requires it on paper, but French custom repeals this in practice.

Halimi: "Every woman raped has a very complicated life after; she's supposed to be guilty, even [though] she is the victim. You see, in France, we have a very strange decision by the court saying if you were asked to go in the car, you were guilty for doing so; if you were pregnant, you were guilty; if you smile, you are guilty; if you wear a nice dress you are guilty. So if you're raped, that's your fault. And we are fighting very strongly against that, because that means we're not allowed to exist as women; if we exist as women, that means we run the risk to be raped."

After physical liberation, Choisir's next direction is economic independence. An estimated 80 percent of the lowest-paid workers are women, Halimi says. Twice as many women as men are at the bottom of the economic pyramid. Women are the underproletariat of the proletariat.

When she is asked what the difference is between the French and American feminist movements, Halimi answers that she thinks the French stresses organization and order more than the American: "We don't like to fight in all directions at the same time."

Speaking for Choisir, Thalmann says "We are less intellectual."

Halimi finds cultural and social forces tug at women more fiercely here than they do in France, from the extremes in the movement to the pressures to bake one's own bread with one's own hands: "Everything is possible and everything is worse, I should say."

## ►The ultimate movement.

Requiring skillful organization, long-range planning, high-powered political strategy, feminism is for Halimi the ultimate liberation movement: "Feminism for me is the only good way to change the whole world."

Apart from a mass movement, her way is the assertion of the servitude women face, what she calls "feminitude."

"Like colonized people," she says, "when your background is away from the decision, your history is hidden, you can't create. I think that's what men are doing, to make women accept this 'fencing game'....One of these games is the cultural fencing game, seeing women as a beauty, as a muse, just to make women accept this slavery."

She expanded on the theme during her speech to the Bryn Mawr audience.

"Man produces and woman reproduces...thanks to our culture, all our traps are interrelated...Balzac said, 'Woman is the slave that man should put on a throne'...women have no language of their own....For women history is irrelevant because they took no part in its making....I do not think that our mental structures will change as soon as our economic structures....Man should realize for his own good he should get rid of this myth of virility and the myth of complementarity for women....The rapport between man and man is important, but also the rapport between man and woman .... Socialism everywhere doesn't dare to face the question of the family."

Like her feminist film star colleagues, this beautiful feminist who proclaims "feminitude" is working to change the kinds of roles women can star in. She is a perfect figurehead for a French feminist movement seeking to enroll as much of that 52 percent of the population as it can. She is a new kind of *femme fatale* working toward a "new culture, a new way to think about women, and about women and men, and [the potential for a] new kind of relationship."

Michelle Osborn is a former editorial writer for the *Philadelphia Bulletin* and is public information director for Bryn Mawr College.



*Gisele Halimi, French lawyer, finds cultural and social forces tug at women more fiercely in the U.S. than they do in France, from the extremes in the movement to the pressures to bake one's own bread with one's own hands.*



# 'A leftwing government is not enough'

*New left leader criticises Italian Communists strategy*

A leader of Italy's new left calls the Italian Communist party's policies "dangerous" and says "it is a race against time as to whether unrest in the movement and growth of our own party can force them to change it."

Giangiacomo Magoni, a member of the politburo of the Proletarian Unity party (PDUP), says the Communists "are supporting a deflationary policy that is going to weaken the working class and ultimately, it's going to weaken the PCI's own bargaining power."

The PDUP joined with two other new left parties to form a coalition in last summer's elections that polled 560,000 votes, winning six seats in Parliament. Although coalition parties form the second-largest left bloc, their membership of 40,000 is small compared to the million members of the Communist party (PCI), which polled more than 11,000,000 votes in June.

## ► PCI is sincere.

Magoni, who spoke on several American college campuses in October, says the Communists are doing just what they say.

"Americans often ask if they are sincere. As if when you have an organization with more than a million members and millions of votes you could be insincere. What is said by the leadership becomes the active policy of hundreds of thousands of people. You can't fool anybody when you're that big."

"And they back up what they say. They accept not only parliamentary democracy, but capitalism. They don't believe a transition to socialism is now possible in Italy."

Behind the Communists' caution, he says, is fear of American intervention.

"People here don't realize to what extent the U.S. is a dominating factor in Italian political life. Just to give two examples, our chronic deficit in the balance of payments means we rely on the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. The more indebted we become, the more dependent."

"Then, after the election last June, then-chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany said that representatives of major Western powers met with Henry Kissinger in Puerto Rico to discuss the Italian situation. They decided that the Communists would not be allowed to take part in the government, but they would be allowed, and indeed requested, to support it externally, particularly the deflationary policy."

"This was the only way of checking the working class who must bear the brunt of the policy."

## ► Interpretations of Chile.

PCI and PDUP strategies are based on different reading of events in Chile in 1973, when a rightwing coup overthrew the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende with covert American aid. The Communists don't press too hard for fear of a similar coup in Italy.

"But it's like giving in to blackmail," Magoni says.

The trouble with PCI policy, he believes, is that it won't prepare people for the kind of struggle necessary to achieve independence from the U.S.

"Support for the deflationary policy will mean higher prices for utilities and the like, higher taxes and lower wages. That will weaken the working class, and thus the PCI. The momentum from the mass movement of the past years will be lost," he says.

"Dependence on the U.S. is like a cancer. We in PDUP believe that just as when you go for an operation you are much weaker right after, so if we

become independent from the U.S., things will be much worse at first. But in the long run it will get better. The Communists try to convince us we can live more happily with cancer."

"One way to read the Chilean lesson is to say that they did too much in terms of defying American power and of isolating the working class from the middle class," Magoni says, "but if you stick your head out a little, you get it cut off, but when you stick it out the whole way, there may be other consequences."

To avoid the army and police force turning against revolution, as in Chile, the PDUP is organizing a democratic movement among soldiers and police. "The PCI doesn't like this," he says. "They prefer to negotiate with the army and police from the top."

## ► To raise the threshold of involvement.

He adds, "You also have to look at another country that succeeded in becoming independent and socialist, Vietnam. They succeeded because they made it clear they wouldn't compromise. They raised the threshold of American intervention, made it very costly for the U.S. to win. And they did it in a way that appealed to democratic opinion in the U.S. and that split the U.S. on the issue."

He believes the explosion of movement among Italian students, workers and women since 1968, which has spurred the PCI growth, can form the basis of a socialist revolution, given leadership that makes the goal clear.

"Why didn't the U.S. go into Angola?" he asks. "Because it was clear they would have to send the marines in. As long as the U.S. can dominate Italy at no political cost it will do so. When it can't be handled through secret CIA appropriations, it will be more costly in economic and political terms to the U.S. and that's the only way to stop it."

"When we do this, we have to make clear to people what's at stake. People will have to make sacrifices, but for something worthwhile. Now, the people are making sacrifices under the Christian Democrats, but it won't change their relation to the government or their own daily life."

## ► A European alliance.

When the break with the U.S. comes, the PDUP would favor rebuilding Italy's economy by forming an alliance with other weak Common Market countries, like Britain, to bargain for a better position vis-a-vis Germany. They would develop Italian agriculture (Italy depends on agricultural imports) and negotiate trade deals with Third World countries. "We could break U.S. control over prices for raw materials and we'd get in return new Third World outlets for our industrial exports," he explains.

"But the central problem of revolution in Western countries is, what do you throw out the window in the revolutionary process and what do you keep? There are certain values of individual liberty and democracy in the broad sense that have been distorted gradually under capitalism, but are nonetheless real."

He points out that leading U.S. ideologues are saying the U.S. suffers from an excess of democracy. The examples of Watergate and the Pentagon papers have led the U.S. ruling class to no longer respect its own laws, he says.

In Italy, "either you expand democracy or it dies. That means bringing it into the working place and then you have to start to question the property system and the capitalist organization of labor."

"You have to say the production places belong to the people who work in them and to society as a whole. Democracy then becomes socialist, and incompatible with capitalism."



Giangiacomo Magoni: "Dependence on the U.S. is like a cancer."

In These Times photo by Jane Melnick

## ► A leftwing government is not enough.

"A leftwing government is not enough. You also have to have a great mass movement and a collective capacity to move for greater power in the plants."

The PDUP hopes to influence the PCI to take a more aggressive stance by continuing to build a mass movement that will demand more democracy. Magoni believes criticism within the PCI, notably by Luigi Longo, might lead the party to demand a share in government, but would not mean the other changes the PDUP would like to see.

"We can't influence them by arguing from within the party," he explains. "Just as the Italian women's movement was able to force the PCI to change its stance by organizing thousands of women who demanded the right to abortion, so we will be able to influence them only by building a mass movement that pushes them."

"The two instances in the Western world in which an attempt has been made to relate socialism and democracy—Czechoslovakia and Chile—have been cases of the most ruthless repression with the passive assistance of the other superpower," he says. "The reason is, if people get into their heads that they can have the whole loaf, that they don't have to choose between democracy and socialism, then you're playing with fire. You are talking about changes in the U.S., in Eastern Europe, in the whole international equilibrium of power."

—Judy MacLean

## Rightists seeking Socialist favor

Rome. Italian rightists are pressing for a coalition between dominant Christian Democrats and much-fewer Socialists, with whom they were allied most of the decade before last June's general election.

This solution is also believed to be favored by the U.S. and attention is focusing on a visit that Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti will make to Washington early next month for talks with both the Ford and Carter administrations.

But the Socialists repeated recently they were not prepared to rejoin the Christian Democrats in government unless the Communists were included. This leaves only a new general election, in which rightwing Christian Democrats believe they could pick up votes.

Added to government difficulties, besides the bleak economic situation, is that Andreotti has a number of longstanding enemies inside his party who would like to see him fall.

An interview with a leading rightwing Christian Democrat last week was a sign of increasing unease among party rank-and-file, who suspect Italy is moving toward an "historic compromise"—an alliance between Christian Democrats and Communists.

—Reuter



# You should see what you're missing!

*"That television is crowded...with so much pap is a national disgrace..."*

Public television viewers across the country were treated last week to a startling documentary in which a number of top writers and producers of commercial TV's primetime entertainment told what they felt about the "product." Remarkably frank interviews were intercut with clips from programs, illustrating the commentator's point.

What follows is taken from a program transcript by permission of the Chicago Educational Television Assn., which produced the program.

**Announcer:** Television. Why is it the way it is? ...The writers and producers you are about to meet feel you're missing the full creative potential of the medium. And they say that you've been missing it for so long that your taste for quality programming has been subverted...And to you, the public to whom the airwaves belong, they say, "Don't blame us, we're not allowed to give you our best ... And you should see what you're missing."

**Larry Gelbart** has been writer and coproducer of the highly successful CBS show "M\*A\*S\*H," which he developed for TV. After writing 97 episodes, Gelbart has chosen to leave television and write for the stage and screen.

**Gelbart:** People who bring ideas to the television development people are often invited to leave their brains and their hearts and their feelings outside the door .... The hypnotic glaze that we've thrown over almost all America with this—I was going to call it pap, but I think it's more dangerous than pap. I think it's crap. We're going to pay for it somewhere down the line...

We have kids who have...never heard real laughter... I see my own grandchild watching television on Saturday morning, and he's watching animated cartoons that have a laugh track.... That's an imposition by a very small group of people on our tastes. He's being made to think that things that really aren't funny are funny because something is laughing. He's too young to understand what a laugh machine is and I'm too old to explain it to him...

I realize I'm criticizing shows that have audiences in the millions and millions of people, but I think that they're somehow being cheated out of the experience of watching television that can touch them, that can make them feel, that can make them care and can entertain them. I don't think that those are mutually exclusive.

**Susan Harris** is a relative newcomer to television. She has written single episodes for "All in the Family" and first became embroiled in controversy when she wrote the abortion episodes of "Maude." In 1975 she created and wrote the series "Fay," which was cancelled three weeks into the season.

**Harris:** Originally Fay was to be a divorced woman in her early 50s. I wanted to make [her] into somebody real, somebody who has problems, somebody who gets rejected, somebody who is scared. Somebody who is vulnerable.

I wrote the script for the network, and they loved the script, but would only shoot it if we lowered the age about 10 years and made Fay glamorous... They felt the public would accept it more. They like pretty people on television...

In the original pilot Fay was just separated. She was not yet divorced. They were drawing up the papers. They said we had to put in that she was divorced. People were uncomfortable with the fact...that she was dating and having another life. If they were divorced, it made it a little more acceptable....

Fay had just come back from a weekend that she had spent with a man. We had to change that so it appeared that she had not met this man when she was away. No affair could be mentioned. Her ex-husband comes in at one point and she says, "I'm having an affair, Jack." That had to be cut and changed to, "I met a man, Jack. I think it's serious."

**Segment from "Fay," broadcast on NBC:**

**Fay:** I met a man, Jack. I think it's serious.

**Jack:** Oh! I'm not surprised... I guess I was just hoping it would be later. After all, we've only been separated a few months.

**Fay:** Ten.

**Jack:** I guess I don't consider it the most dignified thing in the world at this time.

**Fay:** Well, I suppose your having an affair while we were married was.

**Jack:** Well, that's different, Fay.

**Fay:** With a 23-year-old manicurist...

**Jack:** ...One little indiscretion.

**Fay:** One indiscretion! Jack, for four months you had the most highly buffed fingernails in the whole state.

Ironically, he could talk about his extramarital affairs but she could never mention hers after they were divorced.

Week-to-week on a day-to-day basis [the broadcast network people] are with you on the script all the way. So you get notes every day about the changes that have to be made... One particular person is assigned to your show and he reports to his superiors. They go over your script and say, "Delete, delete, delete, delete." You call up and you scream and you win some and you lose some...

One of the most appalling cuts we did was in a show where Fay's ex-husband had what appears to be a heart attack, and Fay believes he's died. Her reaction to the news...is "Oh, my God, oh, my God!" That's the appropriate thing to say when one is in shock. They called and said no way could we say "Oh, my God!" I said, "What could we say in its place?" Someone at the network suggested, "Lord love a duck!"

The compromise we struck was she could say, "Oh dear God." [That] is reverent, and "Oh, my God" wasn't. She could say "Oh, my God" once, and the rest had to be "Oh, dear God." That was our compromise....

The response to "Fay" being cancelled was absolutely overwhelming. I don't know how many letters came, but even



**Heresy:** Joseph Wambaugh and Michael Gelbart on the set of "M\*A\*S\*H."

the network admitted it had never gotten a barrage of mail like that. It had no effect at all. People were outraged, and the network—they couldn't care less...

It's a business. It exists to make profits. The profits are made by selling time. If "Fay" reaches—let's say a 24 share (that means only getting 24 percent of all the people watching television)—that's not enough because the other two networks are getting more.

They have to charge less for their advertising time and that's all they're interested in: the money they get...and beating the other two networks. So if 20 million people are watching "Fay" and there could be a show that 40 million people would watch, they don't care about those 20 million people. It's a business and they're in it to make money and that's all.

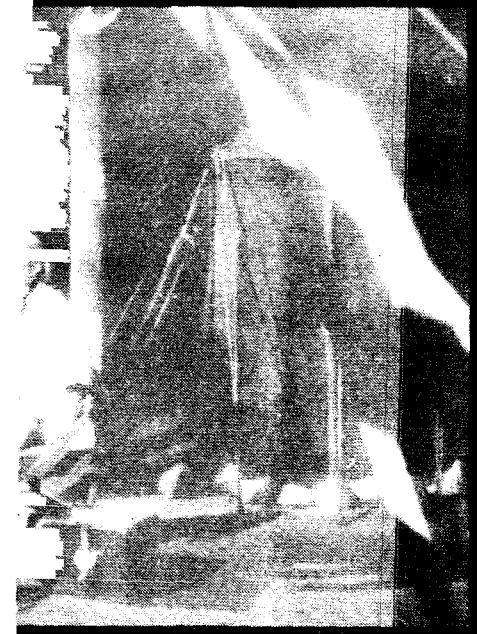
**Abby Mann** won both the Academy Award and the New York Film Critics Award for his screenplay, "Judgment at Nuremberg." His script for "The Marcus-Nelson Murders" won an Emmy in 1973. His most recent TV experience has been as creator and writer of the NBC series "Medical Story."

**Mann:** "Medical story" became a cop out, and stilted, and a bore... The series did not only differ from the intention I had.... Somehow in this inexorable stream of our society, it became the very antithesis of the reasons I wrote the for.... And when people talk to me they say isn't it a pity that "Medical Story" has gone off, I say it is surprising to me it didn't go off before this. And don't want it to be used as a whipping boy against other anthologies.... It wasn't what it should have been. It deserved to go off....

There are so many talented writers, directors and actors. I just can't help thinking what a pity it is that we don't have a medium that calls out for the best, rather than the worst.... That television is crowded from morning to night with so much pap is a national disgrace.

**David Rintels** is president of the Writers Guild of America, West. As a writer, he has specialized in court-room and political drama. In 1975 he wrote the highly acclaimed special, "Fear of Trial," the story of the blacklisting of John





1 (above), Abby Mann (left), and Larry

Larry Faulk. Other credits include the play "Darrow," which starred Henry Fonda.

**Rintels:** Television and particularly entertainment television has become one of the two and maybe the...single most important medium of communication in the world...I'm talking principally about primetime entertainment television, which is from 8 to 11 on the coast, and 7 to 10 in the Midwest. That's the television that most of the people watch most of the time—75 to 80 million people a night, and it is for many people a source of information about the real world. But the message they are getting is not honest.

Five or six years ago while we were still in the Vietnam war, my collaborator and I wanted to do a show about a Robert Capra-type of war photographer, one of those fellows who so loves to be at the scene of the action that you wonder what makes him tick. We went to a production company and to the network with the idea of doing a show about a photographer who follows some young soldiers (18, 19-year-olds) into their first combat and to boil a very long story down, there's one particularly cocky kid...

The photographer keeps a close track on him and this young man gets separated from the rest of the platoon. He's a couple of hundred yards away and they run into a little trouble and the photographer is taking some pictures of them with a long lens and when they get back to camp, nobody is wounded or killed. The photographer develops the pictures and the pictures show that although the soldier was in fact behaving very bravely, the pictures revealed that he looks terrified.

So the next day when they go out into combat and they get in more trouble, this time instead of doing his job, he turns around to see where the photographer is and whether he's taking more pictures. And he turns once too often and gets killed. (I'm boiling a long and more complicated story down.)

That was sent into the network which liked the story and wanted to do it as a 90-minute show but they said that Vietnam was terribly controversial and we couldn't set a show in Vietnam. We didn't think there was anything controversial about the show; it was just a character study.

They realized that it had to be a contemporary story, said keep it in the present, just relocate it in Spain. Jerry and I looked at each other and we said we weren't aware that there was a war being fought in Spain that week and we asked them what they had in mind. They said, well, it's very simple. We'll just change the soldier into a matador and when the bull charges, he will look to see where the photographer is, and whether the photographer is taking more pictures and he'll turn once too often and get gored.

That was television's way of dealing with the Vietnam war.

**Danny Arnold** is creator, writer and executive producer of the ABC hit, "Barney Miller." His credits include an Emmy for the 1970 show based on the work of James Thurber, "My World and Welcome to It." He also was producer and story editor for "That Girl" and "Bewitched."

## YOU SHOULD SEE WHAT YOU'RE MISSING!

a

WTTW/Chicago Public Television  
Documentary

Produced by Michael Hirsh

Associate Producer - Peter Hawley  
Directed by Bill Heitz

### List of Participants

Larry Gelbart, coproducer/writer of "M\*A\*S\*H," broadcast on CBS  
Susan Harris, creator/writer of "Fay," broadcast on NBC  
Abby Mann, creator/writer of "Medical Story," broadcast on NBC  
David Rintels, president of the Writers Guild of America, West  
Danny Arnold, executive producer of "Barney Miller," broadcast on ABC  
Joseph Wambaugh, author and production consultant for "Police Story" on NBC and the "Blue Knight" on CBS  
Roger Seltzer, executive vice president of ASI Market Research, Inc.

**Arnold:** The network depends on its share of audience. It doesn't want to offend anybody, which is pretty difficult to do. I wouldn't like to start out with that kind of a job...you say you'll do something that everybody is going to like. If you do something that everybody likes of necessity you abdicate all points of view, you eliminate all controversy, and what you wind up with is a kind of innocuous pabulum, blab, you know—doesn't do anything, doesn't say anything, doesn't excite you...

We are in a society where there are holdups, and muggings, and prostitution, and there is a drug problem. Those are the things that contemporary police deal with.

Well, if I am going to deal with "Barney Miller" on the level of "Oh, gee whiz, fellows, there is dust on the window sill. If the commander comes over, we won't get our weekend passes anymore—" then who the hell...is going to pay attention to what we are trying to do?

**Joseph Wambaugh**, a 14-year veteran of the Los Angeles Police Department, is story consultant for the NBC series "Police Story" and for the CBS series "The Blue Knight," both based on his novels.

**Wambaugh:** Quite often you have to insert gratuitous violence into a show where it doesn't belong at all just to satisfy this kind of basic need in the hearts of network and studio executives...

One of the best examples of that on "Police Story" was an episode we did last season....The show started out with pillage, war, pestilence and death—a big shootout at a boxing auditorium with machine guns....bodies dropping all over the place...I sat watching for 20—I suppose 30 seconds. I didn't know how many people were shot...how many rounds were fired. It was like the battle of Midway...

Then suddenly our hero...jumps over the fence to chase the bandits and sees a dead body on the ground, a naked body of a woman. That's what the show's about! How did that naked body get there and let's solve that crime! In other words, the entire scene of carnage that opened the show was merely to get the attention of the American people.

**Roger Seltzer** is executive vicepresident of ASI Market Research, Inc.—a consumer research organization that tests everything from soap to TV programs.

**Seltzer:** In the television industry, the consumer product is a television program...

In effect, whoever buys a television program, whether you consider it to be a network or a sponsor or whoever it is, they're using that program as a vehicle. It may be unfortunate that television isn't totally an artistic medium. You have to consider it a commercial medium that

makes use of art. The art that is successful on television has to be art that is acceptable to large numbers of viewers...

**Wambaugh:** What if you only get 15 million people watching your show? That's a hell of a lot of people. Why does it have to be 30 or 40 million or God knows how many?

**Arnold:** What is wrong, it seems to me, is that television is such a medium of absolutes. You are either on or you're off. If you don't get it all, you don't last...

I recognize the responsibility of the network to appeal to the mass, to the majority...The majority rules. That doesn't mean that the minority has to be totally ignored...The minority in a creative community does not get representation because of the way television works. That is what is wrong. I don't know how to cure it. I mean another network I suppose is the only way...

**Mann:** And it could be so much a force for good. I don't know what the answer is. I don't know whether it is government regulation.... I know that is thought by many people to be heresy to say. But there is a social responsibility somewhere for what occupies so much of America's time.

**Rintels:** The television networks will tell you in response to some of these complaints, "Don't blame us. We're giving the people what they want. But that expression...has several premises in it which, I think, bear examination. In the first place, they're not giving anyone anything. They are selling to advertisers at a cost of \$4.85 billion a year. (That's the cost of all the advertising that goes on television.) They are selling goods and services to the American people and that \$4.85 billion [about \$22,000 a person]... is passed along directly to the viewer, to the consumer, in the added cost of products.

So for this free television, we're paying almost \$5 billion a year. And when television says, "We're giving the people what they want," the translation on that really is, we are selling to the public for profit what our advertisers want—not the whole public, but principally women, white, 18 through 49—and making a good pile of dough on it.

**Gelbart:** If the people were to tune out, really tune out, not just keep it on as a nightlight or company....possibly whatever thinking goes on at a very high level at the networks would have to take that into consideration.

**Rintels:** The people own the television air. The networks are the trustees. If the trustees are not doing an adequate job, if they are not meeting their responsibilities, it is up to the people to say so and to say what they want and to make their voices heard.

**Gelbart:** They're missing thinking. They're missing feeling. They're missing passion. They're missing really funny stuff. And they're missing drama. Otherwise, they're not missing a thing.



# D.C.

*Continued from cover*

Kennedy, O'Neill is a maverick progressive.

He broke with LBJ on the war in 1967 long before the students at Harvard and MIT got riled up about it in large numbers. His finest hour, however, came in 1974. Unlike other House leaders, he pressed for open Judiciary Committee hearings on impeachment. As Majority Leader, his real "leadership" in a crisis time sealed Nixon's fate.

Other O'Neill votes: Yes on the B1 bomber, the Turkish arms cutoff, and public transportation, including busing. No on nerve gas, the ABM and public financing of congressional elections. A Catholic, O'Neill was absent during abortion votes.

O'Neill is at home in the backroom politics that is a way of life in the Capitol. Most observers feel his progressive voice can be counted on when it counts.

► **Richard Bolling.**

Phillip Burton (D-Calif.) has been considered the frontrunner for House Majority Leader until recently but some people are beginning to think the race is too close to call. His challenger is Richard Bolling of Missouri.

Bolling is best described as a cold war liberal. Elected to the House in 1948, Bolling has gone along with every major American intervention around the globe, and was late getting out of Vietnam.

His has been a career of broken dreams. A protege of Speaker Sam Rayburn, when Rayburn left, Bolling floundered. During most of the 1960s Bolling twiddled his pencil day after day in the Rule Committee suffering under the leadership of listless octogenarians, and wrote a couple books about how bad things were in Congress.

His career revived when Carl Albert became Speaker in 1971. He was given the chairmanship of a special committee on house reform, but blew it again, issuing a report that everybody—liberals and conservatives alike—rejected.

Nonetheless, he is given credit for creation of the House Budget Committee,

which has rescued some order out of the usual chaos.

If he doesn't become majority leader, it's likely he'll be rewarded with chairmanship of the Rules Committee, which, in effect, decides what gets done when.

► **Phillip Burton.**

Burton, on the other hand, is another one of those politicians that ironically, Richard Nixon made famous.

During his run for governor of California in 1962, Nixon called on his opponent Pat Brown to repudiate the support of a young assemblyman who had supported demonstrations to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. That was Burton.

In the same year that Nixon was driven from office, Burton was elected head of the House Democratic Caucus, and thus became one of the most powerful Democrats in the 94th Congress.

Burton comes from San Francisco, where it's easy to be a liberal. But this congressman doesn't ride in a limosine. At ease with tough radicals who organized San Francisco dock strikes, Burton is seen by his House peers as one of the most savvy politicians on the Hill.

Votes: Burton is against the ABM, the B1, nerve gas, and strip mining. An internationalist, he's been for foreign aid, but against the war and involvement in Angola. He's spoken out against U.S. covert actions around the world.

And finally, through some back door politicking in 1974, Burton managed to abolish the House Internal Security Committee.

► **Democratic Whip.**

The Democratic Whip is the Majority Leader's helper. The situation here is confused. Presently John J. McFall (D-Calif.) holds the job, but he's been tainted by allegations that he took money from Tongsun Park, the South Korean wheeler-dealer. McFall and Deputy Whip John Brademas have formed a group around Tip O'Neill to "help orient" the 47 newly-elected freshman Democrats, a job normally handled by the elite Democratic Study Group, an inside organization of House liberals. Burton's power base is in the DSG, and the move is seen as an early shot in the battle between O'Neill and Burton for influence among the newest Democrats.

In any case it looks like Brademas (D-

Ind.), a 20-year veteran of the House, once described by *Washington Monthly* magazine as "Supercongressman," will be the Whip. Brademas has gotten high marks from liberals for his expertise and advocacy of higher education financing and his showdowns with Henry Kissinger over Cyprus.

► **Hubert Humphrey.**

Hubert Humphrey is up to his old shenanigans again. Only a month out of cancer treatment in a New York hospital, Humphrey told reporters Nov. 24 that he is within two votes of catching front-runner Robert C. Byrd in the race for Senate Majority Leader, and that he is ahead of Ernst Hollings of South Carolina for the Post.

It looked like a Humphrey bluff. But Humphrey and Hollings together could come up with enough votes between Thanksgiving and Christmas to deny Byrd an immediate victory.

A total of 32 votes will be needed for election when Congress convenes on Jan. 4 and Humphrey is an expert in strong finishes.

► **Robert Byrd.**

Byrd has been an effective, by internal Senate standards, Democratic leader since he took the job as Whip from Ted Kennedy in 1971. He'll be hard to derail.

A dedicated, dour, and deadly serious man, Byrd is the kind of senator who keeps file cards on all his constituents—the better to woo them with. He's a master at remembering the little things. He sends thank you notes in response to thank you notes from fellow law makers.

A member of the KKK until he ran for office in 1945, Byrd has steadily moved toward the center, although no major piece of legislation bears his name.

Occasionally he will surprise—such as from time to time recommending normalization of relations with Cuba.

Humphrey, we know. On the day before Thanksgiving, Humphrey told reporters over breakfast that the Senate needed a spokesman, not "a technician." That's fine, but he may need a few techniques himself to unseat Byrd, sometimes called "the Fox."

► **Outside factors.**

And finally there are a few outside factors that are having more than their usual effect in this transitional, post-Watergate, post-Vietnam year.

First, as we said before, almost half the Democrats in the House have been elected since 1974. They are young, for the most part, and brash. Reforms instituted by the Class of '74 clobbered the seniority system. Many of these new faces were elected with the help of a group around the corner from the Capital known as the National Committee for an Effective Congress.

In 1976, the organization devoted \$370,000 to the election of 75 of the Houses 291 Democrats. The head of NCEC, Russell D. Hemenway, is a good friend of Phillip Burton. Together with younger Democrats, the two have been holding some quiet meetings in townhouses around the city to put together a coalition of newly elected young liberals, a faction that would represent a near-majority of House Democrats and a principal challenge to the leadership of Tip O'Neill.

Nobody's talking openly about it, but the comments that do seep into this city's voracious press indicate that it will soon be high noon under the dome, a real shoot-em-up between O'Neill and Burton.

"It's a snake pit...Everyone has their long knife out," said a senior congressional aide last week.

► **Korean investigation may upset some carts.**

One last note:

Carl Albert may have been crooning happily over more than the prospect of Democratic harmony last week.

Behind him he leaves two grand juries that have been in business here in Washington for about six months. They are investigating payoffs by South Korean businessmen and intelligence agents to U.S. Congressmen, senators, and even, some sources close to the investigation say, cabinet-level officials.

A key figure in the probe is Suzy Park—an aide and hostess for Albert—who has been given immunity from prosecution for her testimony about the alleged payoffs.

Some 90 Congressmen have reportedly been on the Korean's gift list.

It seems as if every reporter in this city is after that list. It may provide more surprises than Tip O'Neill, Phillip Burton, Robert Byrd, and Hubert Humphrey are prepared to deal with.

Jeffrey Stein is an investigative reporter in Washington.



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# LIFE IN THE U.S.



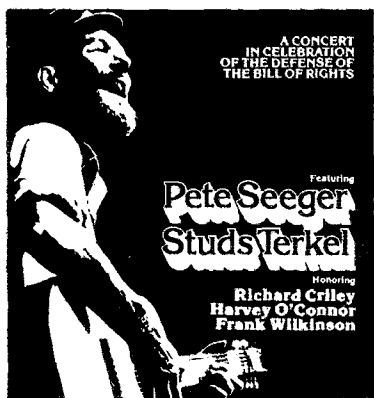
Richard Criley

Frank Wilkinson

Harvey O'Connor

## 'Scoundrel' fighters feted

*Civil liberties: stepping stones to socialism, says one*



"It was the 1950s — a time of great silence and fear in the land," radio interviewer and author Studs Terkel intoned in his gravelly voice before a crowd of 3,000. "Nixon was on the make. It was a great moment for scoundrels, as Lillian Hellman said. But there were a few who really spoke out and defended the Bill of Rights."

The crowd in Chicago had gathered in the gilded Auditorium theater to hear Pete Seeger and to pay tribute to three men

who dared to speak out in the chilly fifties and who have continued their defense of civil liberties to the present—Richard Criley, Harvey O'Connor and Frank Wilkinson.

It was also a celebration of the fruits of that effort—the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the contribution of the impeachment movement to Nixon's demise, the defeat of Senate Bill 1 (which included hundreds of restrictions on civil liberties in a revision of the federal criminal code), and the continuing victories of Chicago's Alliance to End Repression in its suit against the city's "red squad."

The crowd itself was a tribute to the strategy used by the three men in organizations such as the National Committee to Abolish HUAC (now the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation) and the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. More than legally-ori-

ented groups like the ACLU, these men believed that broad popular coalitions must be built to defend the Bill of Rights. Church, community, trade union and professional people outside the organized left by far dominated the audience at the concert/rally on Nov. 19.

One sweet satisfaction for Richard Criley, retiring as executive director of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, was that there were no red squad agents intimidating people as they arrived. "Our meeting was the classic thing the red squad would have been out for in major force before," said Criley, whose first free speech organizing was at Berkeley in the '30s. "In our long struggle, they are now really on the defensive. The old-time hunters are now the hunted. It's impossible to convey how wonderful that feels."

Author Harvey O'Connor, one of *In These Times*' sponsors and recipient of Joe McCarthy's

testimonial as "the most contumacious witness ever to appear" before him, first became involved in defending civil liberties in the late teens of this century. "I suppose it started way back in the old days with the IWW," he recalled. "The first speech I ever made lasted all of two minutes. It was an appeal for funds for Mooney and Billings (two labor leaders framed on bombing charges). It was in a logging camp in Washington." Like other Wobblies, O'Connor's speech was stopped by police and bosses.

Although civil liberties issues then were more narrowly focused on workers' rights to organize than in recent years, the attacks were even rougher than during the McCarthy era. "It was much more severe on working people," O'Connor said, "not only legal but extra-legal action. There was lots of violence against workers organizing or on strike."

O'Connor and Criley both emphasized the importance of civil liberties issues for socialists. "We are interested in civil liberties precisely because we are interested in social progress," O'Connor said, "especially keeping open the channels of peaceful progress."

"These freedoms [of the Bill of Rights] are stepping stones to socialism, not something to be destroyed," Criley said, insisting that leftists must defend civil liberties for all and not simply for themselves. "In the United States we should see these extended into new dimensions through economic democracy, but also maintain these pinnacles of past achievements."

Criley rejected the notion occasionally advanced, that if repression grows, then people will "see through the facade of democracy" and realize how America is ruled.

"To be able to struggle for a more advanced form of society requires maintaining the fullest freedoms," he said, "so people can be talked to about the need for change. It's easier to do that if you can talk to people on the phone, print newspapers and hold public meetings than if you're behind bars. People don't appreciate being in a concentration camp and don't like leadership that gets them there. If you ever betray the immediate needs of people, they'll never follow you anywhere else."

—David Moberg

## Smith Act trial reenacted in North Carolina

By Mark Pinsky

Hillsborough, N.C. The multi-media revival of interest in the political climate of the 1950s has, under the rather unlikely sponsorship of the state, reached into the county courthouses of North Carolina.

This little town, once the colonial capital of the state, is not all that unlikely a setting for "The Limits of Dissent," a 90 minute reenactment of the 1958 trial under the Smith Act of Junius Scales, head of the North and South Carolina Communist Party.

Hillsborough is the county seat of Orange county, which encompasses the university town of Chapel Hill, where the party once had its headquarters, and right around the corner, along Main Street, the Royal governor hanged pre-revolutionary rebels from the lamp posts.

Among the 400 people who have packed the Orange County

superior courtroom on Nov. 16, 1976, to watch the young actors of the Carolina Theatre Company reenact the proceedings, based on the transcripts of the trial, there is a spectator especially interested in one segment of the performance. When Nick Munson, the 24-year-old actor who portrays Dr. Joseph Ward Straley (one of the few character witnesses to testify on Scales' behalf) takes the stand, a gray-haired gentleman in the fifth row leans forward and smiles.

Dr. Straley, now as then a physics professor at the University of North Carolina, is later asked how he would evaluate Munson's portrayal.

"He said it better," laughs the professor. "I was more intimidated."

Afterward, while the "jury" of 12 people selected before the performance by the local sponsoring arts council is out deliberating, Dr. Lewis Lipsitz—the ed-

itor of the transcripts and a political science professor at UNC—leads a discussion about the 1950s, the Smith Act, Junius Scales and the conspiracy trials of the 1960s. In the course of the discussion Dr. Lipsitz reads from a letter just received from Junius Scales, who was frankly skeptical of the reenactment when he was informed of it. Scales, who now works as a proofreader in New York, wrote, in part:

"As inept, doctrinaire and foolish as some of my communist activities and beliefs certainly were—nothing in the trial testimony remotely suggests the selfless, dedicated idealism that motivated me and my fellow North Carolina communists. We were ready to give our lives to advance civil rights and end racism, to enrich the lives of working people, to keep the world at peace, to promote the brotherhood of man."

The most frequently asked question by spectators (who vote overwhelmingly for acquittal) and the jurors at this and every other performance is: *Are we supposed to vote as if this was 1958 or today?* A good question, says the professor.

There is a great deal of similarity between the trial of Junius Scales and the 1952 trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell in New York city for espionage. In the North, a Jewish judge and a Jewish prosecutor (who excluded Jews from the jury) made an example of Jewish defendants who, they both felt, had betrayed *their* America.

In the South, six years later, a patrician southern judge and a patrician southern prosecutor (one of a team), before an all white jury, attempted to make an example of Scales, the brilliant scion of a wealthy and politically prominent North Carolina family, who turned his back on *their* South and *their* class to work in the textile mills among the poor and on behalf of civil rights for blacks.

The closest prosecution could come to tying Scales—who believed in nonviolence—for "advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence" (the key clause of the

Smith Act) was the singing of the "Internationale" at a party, one "after the revolution" joke and his presence at a picnic where someone gave a jujitsu demonstration, using a pencil as weapon.

At the actual trial, held in federal court in Greensboro, N.C., Scales' hometown, a jury took less than an hour to convict him. The judge sentenced him to six years, a verdict and sentence upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision. Junius Scales served 15 months in prison, until released by executive order by President Kennedy who received a petition for mercy signed by nine members of the jury. As in the Rosenberg case, the prosecutor was rewarded with an appointment to the federal bench and the presiding judge was elevated to the U.S. Court of Appeals. After serving his sentence, Junius Scales left the state, never to return.

Tonight the "jury" is hung, 11-1 for acquittal. Heretofore, ten such juries in North Carolina counties (including Greensboro) have voted to acquit, while two others were hung in lopsided majorities favoring acquittal.

Times change.

Mark Pinsky is a free lance writer based in Durham, North Carolina.



# Saving whales

By Sam Silver and Adi Gevins

The welfare of the ever decreasing herds of whales became a matter of official government concern on Nov. 20 when California Gov. Jerry Brown declared Saturday "California Celebrates the Whale Day."

"If you want to save something, you have to celebrate it," the governor told the crowd that packed the Sacramento Memorial Auditorium. The all day and night event featured films, exhibits, lectures and a six-hour marathon concert featuring Joni Mitchell.

Brown used the influence of his office to assemble an impressive roster of hip luminaries for the gathering.

The New Age politics of his administration were graphically illustrated when the chief executive was introduced by a long-haired woodsy person in a fringed leather jerkin who turned out to be Stewart Brand, originator of the *Whole Earth Catalogue*.

Saving whales is important. it is also a clue to Brown's political plan. Conservationists and environmentalists constitute a new political block that cuts across traditional political boundaries of right and left. Brown lost no time in mingling with the crowds of middle aged patrons of conservation groups, parents with their children, and barefoot hip types who came to the free afternoon activities.

The young governor emerged from the event as an environmental activist, ingratiating himself without committing himself to a single bit of legislation.

"We like to let a lot of ideas prevail," Brown intoned in his best "New Consciousness" style. "I'm sure a lot of ideas are in conflict. That's fine. We learn more about it, and through a greater awareness I think we'll get at things in a better way."

►To boycott or not.

The conflict that most divided the gathering was the issue of whether Japanese consumer goods should or should not be boycotted to try to force an end to Japanese whaling. Many prominent conservation groups including the Mendocino Whale War support such a boycott.

Dr. Clifford Uyeda of the Japanese-American Citizens League spoke in favor of whales and against the boycott. He said that the boycott is being called racially motivated by pro-whaling interests in Japan. He was joined by Mark Lavelle, trainer of TV and film star Flipper, who told how Japanese-American school children are bearing the brunt of the anti-Japanese pressure. They are being taunted by their peers as "whale killers."

Uyeda and Lavelle presented an alternative to the boycott. They have been working with Japanese environmental groups and plan a "Japan Celebrates the Whale Day" in March 1977. They hope that demonstration will put an end to Japanese whaling.

Dr. John C. Lilly, author of *The Mind of the Dolphin* and a pioneer of a research style that treats sea mammals and humans as co-equals, told the gathering, "The whales and dolphins, like us, gossip, have history and

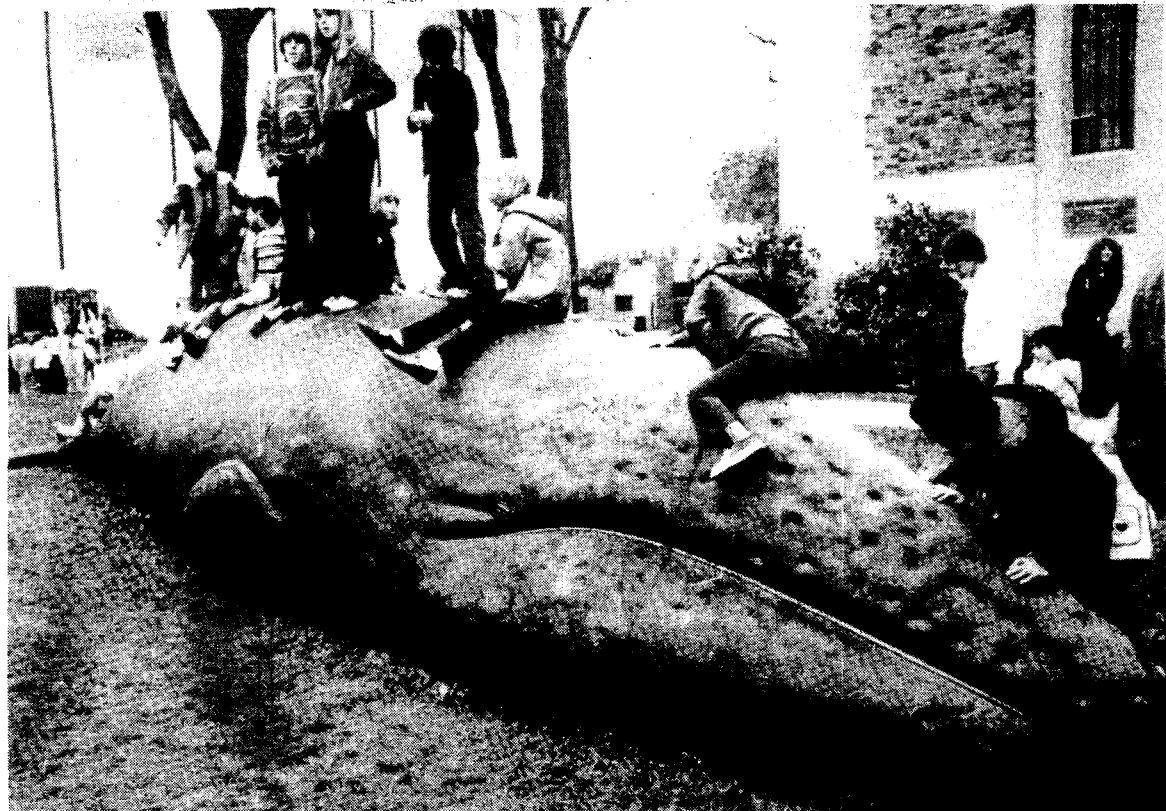


Photo by Sam Silver

Everyone said "we'd never stop the war, but we did. They say we'll never stop whaling, but we will."

sagas, have their cultures, many cultures, in the sea."

Human technology has advanced to the point where the complicated sonic communication systems of dolphins may soon be decoded. Lilly warned that if all such research is left to the military who have been working on it for some time, the benefits of inter-species communication will be greatly reduced. To this end he has started the Human/Dolphin Foundation, which will use private funds and volunteer labor to initiate higher level communications with the dolphins.

During the evening session Dr. Roger Payne, the whale research scientist who is famous for his recording, *Songs of the Humpbacked Whale*, presented a film

documentary about the near-extinct Southern Right whale. His live narration of the film captivated the capacity audience.

Payne introduced a somber note to the celebratory mood of the occasion. He cautioned that unless something is done to enforce a world-wide moratorium on whaling, developed nations could sell their unattractive whaling equipment to Third World nations. The result would make a mockery of the current efforts to stop the slaughter.

California's official state poet, Gary Snyder, the Pulitzer Prize winning Brown appointee to the California Arts Council, read two of his poems to the accompaniment of the Paul Winter Consort, an eclectic musical group that played a selection of African

folk melodies and whale music.

Winter himself has gone out with the anti-whaling ship *Greenpeace* to serenade whales with his saxophone. He led the assembled throng in whale sounds.

The music was decidedly whale oriented. Country Joe sang his song, "Save the Whales." That song is credited by Brown as the inspiration behind his committing his office to saving the Cetaceans.

Country Joe has a long history as an activist rock and roll star. He mentioned that in 1965 he wrote "Fixin' to Die Rag" and everyone said "we'd never stop the war, but we did. They say we'll never stop whaling, but we will."

Sam Silver and Adi Gevins are a reporting team working in the San Francisco area.

## Physicians criticize cold remedies—including aspirin

By Martin Brown  
Pacific News Service

When you get your next cold this fall or winter, watch what you take for it. According to many leading physicians and pharmacists, America's annual \$1 billion spending spree to battle the common cold is often a case of throwing good money after bad medicine.

Many over-the-counter remedies for America's most common illness are at least ineffective and at worst dangerous.

Often taken indiscriminately because of their ready availability, commercial cold remedies can have serious side effects in large doses and even in regular doses among sensitive users.

"Self-medication is being practiced today with a degree of sophistication that belongs to the Dark Ages," the American Pharmaceutical Assn. says. "Abundant evidence...clearly indicates that they [some self-medications] deserve to be labeled 'explosive—handle with care.'"

►Consider aspirin.

Consider the most popular cold remedy of all: aspirin. Americans spend \$500 million a year on aspirin and aspirin-containing drugs, consuming about 30 million tablets a day.

But aspirin is a drug that can have unpleasant, even serious, side effects. For many aspirin users, just one to three tablets can cause burning pain in the mouth, throat and abdomen;

breathing difficulty; lethargy; vomiting; ringing in the ears, dizziness and decreased blood circulation. Aspirin may also attack the stomach wall and lead to bleeding ulcers.

In larger doses, aspirin is the most common poison used by suicides and is responsible for 15 percent of accidental deaths in young children. Sixty to 90 tablets can kill an adult; a much smaller number can kill a child.

While the medicinal value of aspirin (acetylsalicylic acid) has been known for a long time—Pliny mentioned it in his medical encyclopedia more than 2,000 years ago—aspirin has been mass-produced only in the 20th century. And just in recent years has science been able to discover the biochemical mechanism by which it works.

Ironically, the same mechanism that allows aspirin to give temporary symptomatic relief for pain and fever may actually prolong recovery from a cold.

Aspirin's effectiveness results from its interference with the prostaglandin system, a recently discovered class of chemical substances that appear to play a key role in the body's defensive system.

Prostaglandins are involved in pain, inflammation and the chemical reactions that produce fever, all defense mechanisms. Thus, while treating the symptoms of a cold, aspirin can also inhibit the body's ability to fight it.

More important, aspirin taken on a chronic basis may interfere with the longterm maintenance of regulatory systems that depend on the proper balance of prostaglandins.

The Food and Drug Administration has tentatively concluded, for example, that aspirin may prolong childbirth and inhibit blood clotting for mother and child if taken in the last three months of pregnancy.

►Beyond aspirin.

Many other cold remedies contain chemical substances closely related to aspirin, such as acetanilide, phenacetin and acetaminophen. The latter, sold under the trade names Datril and Tylenol, does not harm the stomach lining and is as effective at fighting fever and pain as aspirin.

But all these aspirin-like drugs—sometimes with as few as two-to-five tablets—can cause drops in blood pressure, respiratory failure and damage to the liver and kidneys in some people, according to the American Pharmaceutical Assn. Such respiratory or kidney failure can be fatal.

Other cold remedies consist of combinations of several drugs in addition to aspirin, such as antihistamines and sympathomimetics.

While antihistamines are added to cold remedies to relieve stuffy noses, the FDA has reported that commercial antihistamines are ineffective for this purpose.

Antihistamines are, however, a major cause of accidental poisoning in young children and an instrument of suicide in adults. They are especially dangerous when taken in conjunction with alcohol.

According to Dr. Melvin H. Weinswig, pharmacy professor at the Univ. of Wisconsin, side effects of antihistamines at even regular doses can include—in sensitive cases—sedation, gastrointestinal upset, loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, heartburn, constipation and diarrhea.

Occasional, more serious side effects even at regular doses include impotence, convulsions and toxic psychosis. And, the FDA adds, some antihistamines containing meclizine, cyclizine and chlorocyclizine can cause birth defects.

►Habit-forming effects.

In nasal decongestion sprays, antihistamines are often combined with sympathomimetics—drugs that suppress some cold symptoms.

According to Drs. Arthur Zupko and Edward Stempel of the Brooklyn College of Pharmacy, sympathomimetics "can have a remarkable habit-forming effect." The more these drugs are used, the less effect they have—which usually leads to larger and larger doses.

This pattern of habituation can lead to "congestion rebound"—complete nasal obstruction —

which the common cold would never have produced on its own.

And, Zupko and Stempel add, nasal decongestants are often ineffective because the mucous blanket in the nose prevents satisfactory absorption of the drug.

All these cold remedies contain drugs that can interact with other drugs to produce harmful side effects. Cold remedies should not be taken with alcohol or by persons on medication for high blood pressure, heart disease, diabetes, thyroid disease or other chronic diseases, without a doctor's permission.

Most combination cold and decongestant remedies are probably ineffective anyway, the FDA says. That was the conclusion of an extensive study of these products begun in 1972 by a panel of expert physicians and pharmacologists under the aegis of the National Academy of Sciences.

Prevention—aided by a moderate, well-balanced diet, balanced rest and exercise, limited coffee and alcohol intake and no cigaret smoking—is still the best alternative to commercial cold remedies. To those who do succumb to colds, Dr. Sol Katz of Georgetown University has this advice: "Drink lots of hot chicken soup."

Martin Brown is science editor of Pacific News Service.



# CIA, FBI activities span the globe

By Noam Chomsky

Cambridge, Mass. In January, the House's so-called Pike committee filed its CIA and FBI report. Though officially secret, the report was leaked to the press and appeared in the *Village Voice* Feb. 16 and 23. The final report of the Senate's so-called Church committee was released in April. Both supplemented a flood of information from court cases and other sources.

The documents reveal the CIA and FBI engaging in subversion, terror, instigation of violence and disruption of democratic processes at home and abroad since World War II. The programs are not sporadic or out of control, but systematic, relatively independent of political changes and in general organized at the highest levels of state.

According to the Pike committee:

"All evidence in hand suggests that the CIA, far from being out of control, has been utterly responsive to the instructions of the president and the assistant to the president for national security affairs" [who was Henry A. Kissinger]. The "great majority" of its "covert action projects were proposed by parties outside CIA," that is, by civilian agencies that use the CIA, in effect, as a secret army of the presidency.

What were these activities?

One primary function of the CIA, from its origins, has been to disrupt democracy in allied or subject countries. From 1948 to 1968 the CIA and "related organizations" expended more than \$65 million in Italy alone to subvert Italian democracy in fear of Communist electoral success.

These programs formed a part of the successful U.S. government effort, abetted by the labor bureaucracy, to split and weaken the European labor movement and in general to restore European capitalism and ensure American dominance of most of the industrial world.

The Pike committee gives this quantitative estimate:

"From 1965 to date, 32 percent of 40 Committee-approved covert action projects were for providing some form of financial election support to foreign parties and individuals." The 40 committee is "the review and approval mechanism for covert action," directly controlled by the president. These efforts to



Chicago Black Panther leader **Fred Hampton**, murdered by the Chicago police in 1969. Does the trail of guilt lead through the FBI to the White House?

Photo by Paul Sequeira

subvert democracy constitute "the largest covert action category" of the CIA and are directed primarily against the Third World.

These calculations of course do not include other kinds of government or related corporate efforts to undermine democratic processes as in Chile or more recently in Thailand.

## ► Domestic targets.

Much the same is true of the national political police at home. The Church committee reports that "each administration from Franklin D. Roosevelt's to Richard Nixon's permitted and sometimes encouraged government activities to handle essentially political intelligence." The socialist left was the primary target, but not the only one.

The investigation of the NAACP, for example, "lasted for over 25 years, although no-

thing was found to rebut a report during the first year of the investigation that the NAACP had a 'strong tendency' to 'steer clear of Communist activities'."

Investigation and disruption of the Socialist Workers Party persisted for 34 years and in fact continued well after it had allegedly been terminated.

What the Pike committee calls "FBI racism" reached its peak in the 1960s with the growth of the civil rights and black movements. Programs to undermine these movements and discredit their leadership were initiated under the Kennedy administration and extended under Johnson and Nixon, culminating in direct efforts to instigate violence and murder and, it appears, FBI participation in political assassination in the case of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The CIA was also active at home. The Church committee reports, for example, that "nearly a quarter of a million first-class letters were opened and photographed in the United States by the CIA between 1953-1973, producing a CIA computerized index of nearly 1.5 million names."

The subversive activities of the executive secret agencies have been regularly adjusted in scale to conform to the perceived threat to state policy. Violence directed against the peace movement and direct instigation of violence by agents placed within the movement increased through the 1960s. By the mid-1960s, every "free university" was under FBI investigation.

By 1970, the Church committee reports, the FBI ordered investigations of "every member" of SDS and of "every black student union and similar group." Throughout the country, FBI agents, infiltrators and clandestine "terrorist" groups went on a rampage with bombings, assassination attempts, kidnapping, beatings, disruption, robbery and so on. The pattern was no different abroad.

The Pike report sheds light on the serious consequences of the general incompetence of the intelligence agencies. In October 1973, for example, a worldwide nuclear alert followed Russian protests over Israeli violations of the ceasefire in Egypt. U.S. intelligence "almost unquestionably (sic) relied on overly optimistic Israeli battle reports," according to the Pike committee. "Thus misled, the U.S. clashed with the better-informed Soviets on the latter's

strong reaction to Israeli ceasefire violations. Soviet threats to intervene militarily were met with a worldwide U.S. troop alert. Poor intelligence had brought America to the brink of war."

Reading between the lines, we may surmise that the "overly-optimistic" reports indicated the violations were more successful than Russian intelligence knew them to be. Indirectly, then, the Pike committee report also leads to some interesting speculations with regard to government policy at the time.

## ► CIA cynicism.

Some of the CIA activities are remarkable in their cynicism. To cite one case, the CIA supported the Kurd rebellion in Iraq while the U.S. acted to prevent a political settlement that might have preserved a degree of Kurdish autonomy. Kissinger, Nixon and the shah also insisted on a no-win policy so that the revolt would persist, undermining both Iraq and the Kurdish movement. With a shift in international politics, the Kurds were sold out. The U.S. then refused even humanitarian assistance to its former allies as they were crushed by force.

The reason was explained to the Pike committee staff by a high government official: "Covert action should not be confused with missionary work."

About 200,000 Kurds managed to escape. Iran then returned over 40,000 by force "and the United States government refused to admit even one refugee into the United States by way of political asylum even though they qualified for such admittance."

The committee reports do not deal with the most sordid programs of government terror organizations. Thus, nothing is said about the CIA's secret war in Laos or the Phoenix program in Vietnam, which, according to the Saigon government, claimed over 40,000 victims in a program of indiscriminate massacre.

The Church committee presents evidence concerning FBI attempts to incite gang warfare in black ghettos but gives no adequate account of such atrocities as the campaign to destroy the Black Panther party. Nor does it explore FBI-directed violence, arming and financing of secret terrorist armies, concealing of criminal activities and the like in San Diego and other cities. Nevertheless, investigations suffice to give a revealing picture of the government activities to control domestic and international society by means ranging from subversion to force and violence.

A fuller account would trace activities of the national political police to the Red Scare after World War I, when J. Edgar Hoover rose to prominence as the government acted to destroy the left and undermine labor with support of the press and business. Attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer, who announced his intention "to tear out the radical seeds that have entangled American ideas in their poisonous theories." In fact, the story begins long before.

Noam Chomsky teaches in the linguistics and philosophy department at MIT and has been active in the peace movement.

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# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## Gladys Knight at the pipe

### PIPE DREAMS

Starring Gladys Knight  
Written, produced and directed by  
Stephen Verona  
PG-rated, Avco-Embassy release

If you saw *Pipe Dreams* at a screening or on TV you might never know what it is supposed to be all about. The press release says it's a story of modern-day Alaska and the people who work along the Alaska pipeline. But really, Gladys Knight and fans is what it's all about.

The audience loves her and the interaction between them and her image is more electric than anything in the film. It's as if they were at a rock concert, cheering and chewing popcorn, talking through dialog, laughing at corny turns in the plot and snapping to silent attention only when something in Gladys' beautiful face signals that she is about to do her thing. That thing, in *Pipe Dreams*, is to stand up to some oversize male antagonist and bring him to heel, like a lady Lone Ranger.

As a matter of fact, there are moments when one feels *Pipe Dreams* is an updated version of an old western classic. The plot is not important, either to audience or filmmakers. It starts and stops, meanders and muddles as if it had been improvised on location.

### ►Here comes Gladys.

What happens, as nearly as I could figure out, is something like this: Gladys comes to Valdez to take a job as a radio operator, but actually "to get my man back." Her ex-husband (played by her real husband, Barry Hankerson) is a helicopter pilot who is on his way to becoming a new tycoon. He is also living with another woman—his divorce from Gladys being almost final.

Gladys' promised job washes out, so she takes another as a "mixologist" in a bar owned by the boomtown badman—brutal, unscrupulous, entrepreneur extraordinary, Mike!

Gladys, incidentally, doesn't drink or smoke (neither pot nor tobacco) and is puritanical about extramarital sex. But she is affectionate, understanding and even protective of the exploited prostitutes of Mike's stable.

Before Gladys and Barry are remarried in the snowy wilderness, she has taught him a lesson about love and responsibility, rescued one of Mike's pitiful victims, witnessed the suicide of another and set herself firmly against the values of the get-rich-and-get-out community.

Her final victory comes when Barry, who has been reluctant to give up the fortune that hangs like a carrot before his helicopter's nose, turns on crooked Mike



(who is about to sabotage a pipeline section) and beats him to bloody unconsciousness in the snow.

Everyone applauds. But not with quite the fervor that explodes when Gladys slaps Mike just as hard as he has just slapped her. It is definitely Gladys' audience.

### ►Dreams, pipe and other.

The distant backgrounds are unbelievably beautiful—Alaska's dramatic mountain ranges, glaciers and forests in the clear, glittering cold. The foreground is curious. Pipeline Alaska is—in this film at least—the American frontier, where brutality is en-

demic and so is hope; where dreams, pipe and other, flourish amid carnage.

It is an Alaska without Indians or Eskimos and there is no suggestion of discrimination against blacks.

If relations between races have come a long, long way in this pipedream, relations between sexes have not. Gladys tries once to establish a single standard of fidelity, but her husband says it's different for a man, and she doesn't dispute him. After all, what she is there for is not to win the opportunity to sin as he has sinned, but to bring him back to the straight, but flower-strewn path of marital felicity.

Gladys Knight is, of course, an immensely popular singer of MoTown music. She and the Pips have recorded six new songs that drift like exotic mists over long shots of tundra and mountains. (Gladys is never filmed singing and the Pips are never filmed at all!)

She also proves she is as much an actress as any American film sweetheart, from Mary Pickford on.

One suspects that *Pipe Dreams* may be the pilot of a series of Gladys Knight films: Gladys Knight (and husband and perhaps baby daughter) in Hawaii, or Hong Kong, or Havana.

—Janet Stevenson

## Arabs, oil and Connery—chic, cynical cinema

### THE NEXT MAN.

Directed by Richard C. Sarafian  
Starring Sean Connery and Cornelia Sharpe

This film is about international politics, but it might as well have been about diamond smuggling. Only the dialog has been altered between predictably gory scenes of inventive murders (establishing once again that there are more positions in the pornography of violence than ever dreamt of in sex manuals) and tedious, obligatory scenes of gamboling in parks and on beaches with background violins (guaranteed to make murder more interesting than love).

Sean Connery plays Khalil Abdul Muhsen, propelled to leadership of Saudi Arabia after murders knock out the key men behind the country's new oil policy. (Their ideas of international cooperation among underdeveloped countries, oil kingdoms and even Israel had threatened establishments from New York to Moscow.)

Despite the assassinations—carried out in the first of the film's many travelogue settings by mysterious agents working for unnamed bosses—handsome, impetuous, sophisticated Khalil continues to elaborate his predecessors' policies. He addresses the U.N. with proposals that shake up political alignments East, West and Mideast.

Enter Nicole Scott, played by Cornelia Sharpe, a sleek and delicately lovely actress with hardly enough talent to support her clothes, which is fortunate since they're frequently off. Daughter of an upper-class family, she has already dispatched one man by suffocating him after administering drugs and making love. She catches Khalil's fancy and that kills the movie. The plot is reduced to a travelogue of trysts, with the bodyguards' efforts to keep up providing thin comic relief.

When Khalil returns from his travels, he again addresses the U.N. calling for peace with Israel and denouncing terrorism. The U.S., Soviet and Mideast delegates are presumably angered by the proposals (or simply incensed at having to listen to Khalil's pious, naive speech). In any case, the film speeds up for a Gotterdammerung finale of guns and bombs and suspense about who is on what side shooting at whom.

A shoot-'em-up adventure, the film starts, stops and starts again, with only the passable acting and impassive charm of Connery to carry it through. Arabs, oil and political "terrorism" make a chic backdrop, as good as any other for setting off mystery, violence and romance. But the hardened, cynical distrust behind the film is cut from the same cloth as the standard police and detective fare.

—David Moberg

## Italian detective thriller portrays political intrigue

*"Rosi creates a fast-paced sense of terror before ruthless labyrinthine power."*

### ILLUSTRIOUS CORPSES (CADAVERI EXCELLENTI)

Starring Lino Ventura, Fernando Rey, Max von Sydow  
Directed by Francesco Rosi  
Screenplay by Rosi, Tonino Guerra, and Lina Jahnuzzi

The "illustrious corpses" that accumulate during this tale of politics in a possible Italy of the not-too-distant future are prosecutors, judges and other important people mysteriously killed by unknown assassins. At first there are suspicions of the Mafia and then of a disgruntled man convicted under the jurisdiction of some of the victims.

But the wave of killings spreads. The nation's president blames "political extremists." Inspector Amerigo Rogas, played with flinty determination by Lino Ventura, is a provincial cop drawn into a plot that he refuses to drop despite the awesome implications of the clues he picks up. The killings may be the work of the very people assigned to investigate them, perhaps with the complicity of all the leaders in high government circles.

Rogas makes a desperate effort to appeal to the head of the Communist party to reveal his

discoveries, but the effort is foiled. The film, which had its U.S. premiere at the recent Chicago Film Festival, concludes with a question: Are the Communists, now sharing power with the Christian Democrats, too locked into the establishment and too frightened of mass revolution to speak out? Are they implicated?

In the political thriller style of Costa-Gavras (*Z*, *State of Siege*) or the director's previous film, *The Mattei Affair*, Rosi creates a fast-paced sense of terror before ruthless, labyrinthine power. Modern politics shares the quality of a Papal Court with its intrigues and jousting for power behind the scenes. The parallel is suggested by the striking opening shots of rows of "illustrious corpses": robbed, shrivelled, distorted cadavers of ancient bishops and cardinals in an underground catacomb.

The motivations behind all this mystery are as uncertain as the perpetrators of the crimes. Probably the killings are planned to provide justification for repression against the young ultraleftists shown demonstrating in the streets and handing out incendiary pamphlets.

Despite the ambiguities of politics and plot, Rosi's handling of current political controversy over Communists sharing power in Italy is deft and emotionally compelling. The detective film style he uses has both the strength of its dramatic suspense and the weakness of its dependence on mystification of the viewer.

Following Rogas' investigation, we discover more tantalizing and fragmentary clues about the deepest realities of power. But Rosi never goes beyond hints and innuendos. He delivers a cop-out, but provocative conclusion.

An old priest tells Inspector Rogas that the cardinals in the catacombs can tell the secrets of the private struggles for public power of centuries past. The key to understanding Rosi's parable of modern affairs of state lie buried in other vaults, filled with tapes of phone calls, films of demonstrations, files of seized documents and Nixonian plans for manipulating the public. Our world may be different, but the workings of power, he suggests, continue to be as secretive, ugly, and fascinating as ever.

—David Moberg



# A map of religious America

## A NATION OF BEHAVERS,

By Martin E. Marty  
University of Chicago Press, \$8.95

Much of "popular religion" today is vulgar, trivial game-playing by unscrupulous entrepreneurs. But much more of it is sincere, albeit inadequate effort to make personal and social religious experience a matter of responsible living in a disorderly society that is bursting at the seams.

Martin E. Marty, professor of the history of modern Christianity and associate editor of *Christian Century*, is as competent as anyone to provide a chart to explore the American ecclesiastical terrain. His book is a map of religious America based on "the visible loyalties of people as evidenced in their beliefs and social behavior and expressed in their public quests for group identity and social location."

The map is divided into six zones within which most, if not all, "socially religious" citizens establish their loyalties, each covered by a chapter:

- Mainline religions—Wasps, Catholics and Jews, with a brief but excellent discussion of Vatican II and its effects;

- New Religions—"precarious and luxuriant growths" in the American scene: Hinduism, Buddhism, Sufism, the occult, Zen, Subud, Transcendental Meditation, Scientology, astrology and others.

- Ethnic religions—American Indian religions and the transformation of earlier religions by groups with plural traditions, such as Black Muslims, Black Baptists, Polish-American Catholics, and the like.

- A brief comment on the communism of Mao Tse-tung as a new religion, and

- A final chapter on civil religion.

### ►The effort to find sameness.

Marty observes, with Erich Fromm, that many individuals suffer from "growing isolation, insecurity and growing doubt concerning one's role in the universe, the meaning of one's life...a grown feeling of one's powerlessness and insignificance." It is the effort to overcome such insecurity, to find sameness with others in ethos and ego that determines these "zones" on Marty's map, rather than political boundaries, theological reflections or issues of church and state.

The chapter on ethnic religions contains some of the most cogent treatment of the reality of social change and mounting conflict. These ethnic groups are often active in mass movements, large or small, in search of a larger place in the economic sun via labor organizations, political parties or antiwar movements.

Marty reminds the reader of W.E.B. DuBois' famous statement, made in 1900: "The

problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line." To which Marty adds, "Between 1945 and 1960, 800 million people in 40 countries revolted and won their independence from white colonial powers. Never before in the whole of human history had so revolutionary a reversal occurred with such rapidity."

### ►Civil religion.

The chapter on civil religion is provocative and deserves serious study. Civil religion, even in its modest and gentle guises, appears as a religion that would be coextensive with American culture and society. It would be a faith for "plural believers"—people who might be Presbyterian, Zen Buddhist, or a believer that "God is Red" and still within the circle of claims of civil religion. There is a danger here—and a not-too-subtle one—of making religion a nationalist one allied with the status quo.

I wish Marty had been more explicit in recognizing this danger and had dealt again more explicitly with a theme stated earlier: "The fact of religious pluralism is the human condition. It is written into the script of history."

The same week in which I finished Marty's book, *Newsweek* carried an article, "Born Again: the Evangelicals," which described the effort of Rep. John B. Conlon (R-Ariz.) to get the government to be a "Christian

## Pollution

Put down that aerosol!

All fly wants  
is a little nibble  
of my scrambled eggs; I share with him gladly,  
the little Franciscan brother.

Go spray a congressman.

## Picnic

The orlon wriggles through the underbrush,  
The nylon creepers hissing round his head.  
The dynel nests within the dacron bush;  
Its poly-packaged eggs are cold and dead.  
Synthetic girls in imitation snake  
Bedecked with imitation fur step forth  
Monoxide air surrounds the garbaged earth.

For God's sake let us leave our plastic tower,  
Casting aside our crowns of cellophane.  
Let us go back where blooms the mylar flower,  
and sip our diet drink, and love again.  
And since I'm bored with you, and you with me,  
We'll take along our portable TV.

—Valerie Taylor

From *Two Women*, Woman Press, Chicago.

establishment" and to drive "secular humanism" out of our political society.

We live in times of mounting confrontation of social and personal concepts that are indisputably opposed. There are economic realities, ancient class injustices behind the surface "warfare between the sects." Many historians have observed that America is a nation of believers. Marty is telling us we are also a nation of behavers.

The distinction needs to be

pondered. For there will be a need for fresh resistance struggles (with a 1st Amendment in good working order) on the part of humanists, theists, agnostics, Jews, "invisible religionists" and all other Americans if we are to keep the republic on the track in the long postelection perspective.

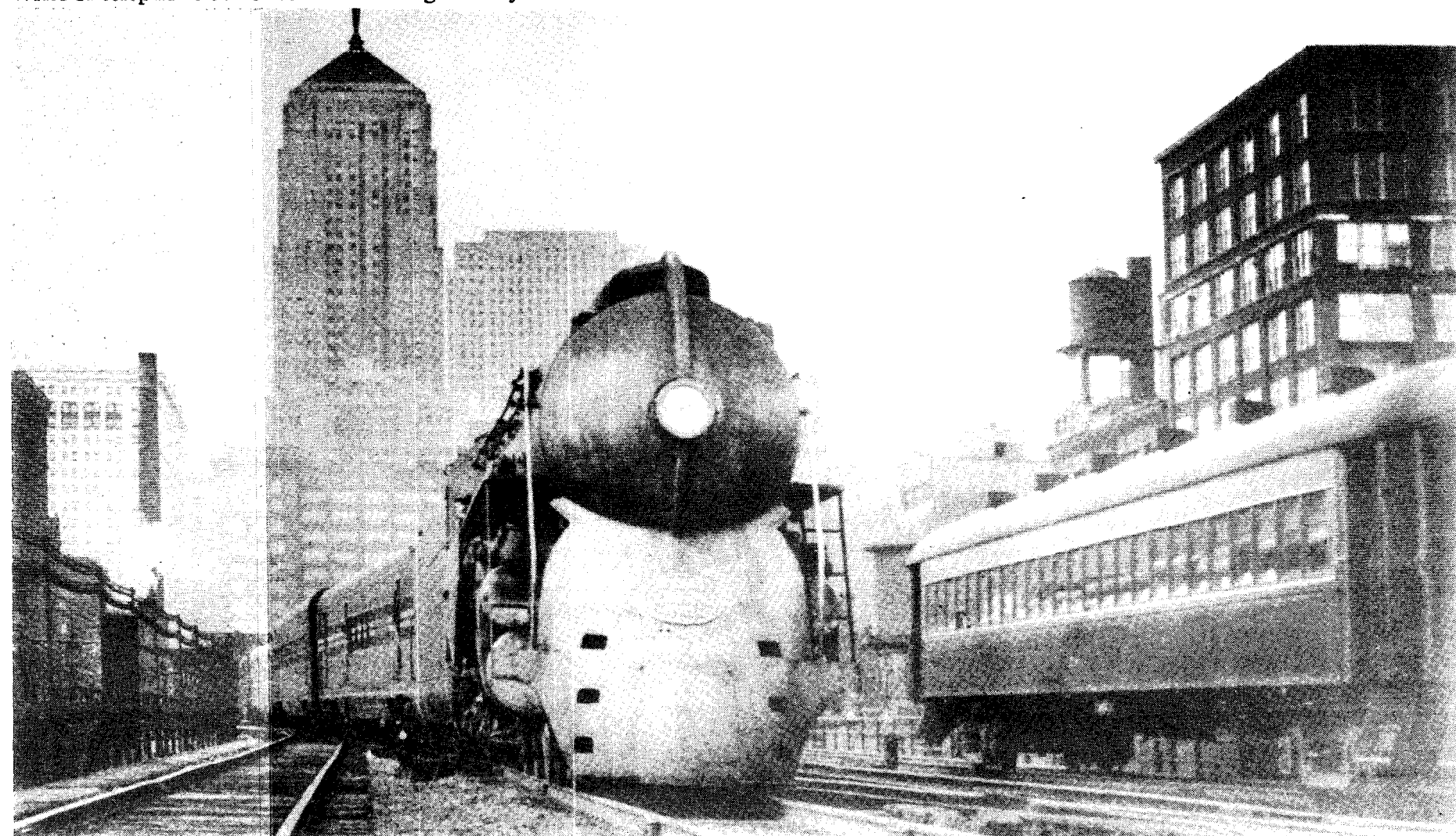
■ Stephen H. Fritchman is minister emeritus of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, recently awarded the Unitarian-Universalist award for distinguished service to the cause of liberal religion.

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Henry A. Wallace speaking to a large crowd in Greensboro, N.C., Aug. 30, 1948. Spectators threw eggs at Wallace; note portion of egg and shell in back of car.

—World Wide Photo

## Wallace in retrospect: a lesson for today?

**HENRY WALLACE, HARRY TRUMAN AND  
THE COLD WAR**

By Richard J. Walton  
Viking (New York), \$12.95

There ought to be some lesson for today in the career of Henry A. Wallace, the Progressive party contender for president in 1948.

Wallace tried to build a third-party challenge to bipartisan unity on American overseas expansion and domestic anticommunism and was crushed for the effort. Richard Walton argues that America and the world as a result suffered decades of foreign wars—including the Vietnam disaster—bloated military budgets and a choking of national democracy.

Henry Aagard Wallace was a successful corn farmer and publisher who served as a cabinet member under Roosevelt and became his vice president in 1940. Too left for Democratic party big-city bosses and other conservatives, he was dropped from the 1944 ticket despite great personal popularity. Wallace remained in the cabinet when Harry S. Truman became president and campaigned to make this "the century of the common man."

A thorough-going, optimistic capitalist, he favored peaceful economic competition between systems to see which was able to deliver goods to the largest number.

He believed the war-weakened Soviet Union was no threat to American security and peaceful coexistence was not only possible, but desirable. And he considered U.S. refusal to share atomic secrets with the Soviets after the war an antagonistic act that made cold and hot war in.

He also criticized tenets of Truman's foreign policy—intervention

in support of anyone who was anticommunist, increased military spending and the Marshall Plan.

At first opposed to a third party, Wallace changed his mind when he was forced out of the Truman cabinet. He decided to run on the Progressive party ticket and willingly accepted support from the Communist party. Although he was critical of the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union, he refused to capitulate to the growing anti-Red hysteria.

Walton musters a strong case for the independence of Wallace and the Progressives from the Communists, but the opinion was widespread then—and now—that Wallace was "a dupe or tool of the Commies."

Vicious press attacks, assaults by liberals like Americans for Democratic Action and abandonment by most of his trade union allies cut deeply into Wallace's strength. He ended up in the '48 election with a million votes — fewer than Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond was able to get.

Despite relaxation of anticommunism in American politics, many of the arguments used against Wallace still carry weight with voters considering a third-party candidate: that a lousy Democrat is better than a Republican; that a third-party vote is a waste or, in effect, a vote for the conservative.

Walton makes a persuasive, partisan defense of Wallace's ideas about foreign policy and his personal integrity. He does not, however, analyze the campaign or the hold of the Democratic and Republican parties on American politics fully enough to draw out the lessons of the Wallace candidacy for those who would like to build a mass third-party now.

—David Moberg



From *A Quarter Century of Un-America*, 1963

## Andre Malraux: engaged intellectual

Andre Malraux, who died last week at 75, was a Renaissance man somewhat ill at ease in the 20th century. A totally "engaged" intellectual, he was involved in the early revolutionary struggles in China, the Civil War in Spain, the French resistance against Hitler and the Gaullist government that followed the liberation. He functioned at times as an archeologist, an art scholar, an explorer, an aviator (and organizer of the Spanish Republican air force), a novelist, an orator and a bureaucrat.

Malraux's best-known novel, *Man's Fate*, was set against the background of the 1927 revolution in China. Of it he wrote, "the characters of this novel—Communists, Fascists, terrorists, adventurers, police chiefs, junkies, artists and the women with whom they are involved—are... engaged to the point of torture and suicide in the Chinese Revolution, upon which for some years the destiny of the Asian world and perhaps the West depended."

For this book Malraux was awarded France's coveted Prix Goncourt in 1933. The following year, as an established left intellectual, he attended the Writers Congress in Moscow. He undertook soon thereafter the defense of Ernst Thaelmann, the German Communist leader, and attended the trial of Georgi Dimitroff, the Bulgarian Communist who was accused of responsibility for the Reichstag Fire in Germany. Out of his experiences of that year he wrote *The Days of Wrath*, a short anti-Hitler novel.

At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Malraux flew to Madrid, where—despite very limited experience as a flier—he organized what air power there was to defend Spanish cities against the armadas of German and Italian planes provided to the rebel, Francisco Franco. Malraux flew

65 combat missions, was twice wounded and retired from active service only to make fund-raising tours on behalf of the Loyalists.

All this was grist to his literary mill, which turned at an astonishing speed—considering the circumstances. In 1937 he published *Man's Hope*, the first major novel about the Spanish conflict, and wrote and produced a film on the same subject.

During the '30s Malraux was "an independent Marxist," never a Communist. But his relations with the left were reasonably cordial until the Hitler-Stalin pact. "I could understand the pact," he said, "from a Russian point of view. However, I could not agree that Stalin had the right to pay for this logic with the blood of millions of ordinary Frenchmen whom he had doomed.... I married France."

The marriage sent him back into active combat as "Colonel Berger" of the Resistance. In this connection he came to know Gen. Charles de Gaulle, whom he also "married." When DeGaulle came to power, Malraux was appointed information minister and served as propaganda chief in the cabinet of the increasingly reactionary cold warrior.

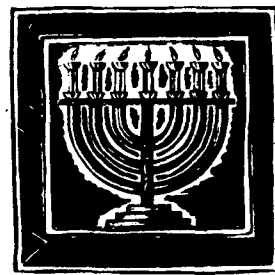
French intellectuals, Communist and non-Communist, were profoundly disturbed by this last turn in Malraux's long career. Although he insisted it was not he who had changed, but rather the left leaders, the judgment still persisted that he had deserted from the ranks.

In the long biographical article published in the *New York Times* the day after Malraux's death, there is a quotation from his pen on the subject of the theme of *Man's Hope*:

"Men who are joined together in a common hope, a common quest, have access, like men who love unities, to regions they could never reach left to themselves."

—Janet Stevenson

## New books for kids



### CHANUKAH

by Howard Greenfield  
Designed by Bea Feitler  
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York

With Santa Claus breathing fiercely down our necks, one may ask, "Is that all there is?" Thanks to Howard Greenfield and his new book, there is more. Most children know there's a holiday for the Jewish faith in the month of December called Chanukah, but little else. "...they use candles...why? I dunno."

Greenfield's book is a comprehensive yet short tale of Chanukah for children. No illustrations are necessary because the excitement is in the words de-

picting the struggle of one group of people committed to be free.

From reading Greenfield's book, I have a clear and beautiful perception of the meaning of Chanukah and I hope to share this book with all the children I know.

### HOW TEVYA BECAME A MILKMAN

BY Gabriel Lisowski  
Holt Rinehart & Winston, New York

*How Tevya became a Milkman* is a sensitive, warm story of how a poor Ukrainian woodsman's misfortune turns into happiness for his family. Lisowski, the author and illustrator, adds luster to his story with unique black-and-white pen drawings, one of which is so fine that the more you peer into it, the more you can see.

A dear story for children of one man's struggle to put food on his family's table. In this age of bionical people and superheroes, Tevya is a real pleasure.

—Karen Morrill



# Changing face of labor

Continued from page 7

levels, white workers are more likely to belong to unions than blacks.

Women are far less organized, especially since unions have been less common in occupations that have swollen in recent years as more women have come into the workforce. Only 9.8 percent of white women and 13.8 percent of black women wage workers were unionized in 1970, yet women still make up nearly a fourth of the members of all unions and related associations.

## ►What difference do unions make?

What difference have unions made to American workers? Some effects are impossible to measure.

In recent years, Prosten said, unions have meant to members "more money, security, pensions, health and welfare and a lesson in solidarity."

Certainly there is no evidence that unions have a significant influence on voting or other political attitudes of their members, although they may be politically potent as lobbyists. Union members are slightly more Democratic in registration and voting. They are more likely, by a small margin, to support government spending for social welfare.

But the influence of unions on attitudes is much less than that of other experiences reflecting social class.

## ►More real dollars?

Do unions actually put more money into members' pockets? Many economists have argued that unions have little impact on wages after they are first organized except to prevent traditional wage-cutting during economic downturns.

In an era of Keynesian government economic policies, inflation has become the new wage cut. For example, during this recession with high inflation, starting in 1973, real earnings declined for the average American production worker. Within the last year real earnings crept up slightly but are only 8.5 percent above nearly a decade ago.

Cost-of-living adjustments have become the new protection against wage cuts through inflation. Yet they cover only slightly more than a third of organized workers and thus about a twelfth of the workforce. Even those workers with COLA clauses, as they are known, in their contracts recover only about half of their

losses from inflation, according to AFL-CIO research.

## ►Impact varies with race, skill, industry.

Otherwise the impact of unions on wages varies according to race, skill level, industry and degree of concentration of ownership.

Bluestone's unpublished research provides probably the best picture yet of union wage impact. Generally he found that unionization makes the greatest difference for blacks. Also, the greater the skill, the less influence unions have on wages. Technicians or professionals, for example, may gain security or other benefits from unions, but little in wages.

Starting with the lowest-skill category—messengers, parkers, car washers, for example—Bluestone found belonging to a union brought wages that were roughly a fifth higher for black men or women, but only 13 percent higher for whites than among nonunion workers.

In the next category, covering such jobs as factory operatives or typists, unions had virtually no impact for white men. However, for black men, union membership brought a 30.5 percent increase in wages. The black auto worker, for example, gains greatly over his counterpart in an unorganized job at that skill level.

For more highly skilled work, ranging from stock clerks to practical nurses and skilled tradesmen on construction, unionization made a big, identical difference for black and white men, who made 28 percent more than nonunion workers at that skill level. The union makes a difference here for women too—nearly 20 percent for whites and 33 percent for blacks.

## ►Monopolization also makes a difference.

Unions are only one influence on wage levels. Highly monopolized industries usually make higher profits and pay higher wages. Even without a union, working a regular factory job in a monopoly firm brings wages about 12.6 percent higher than in a more competitive industry, Bluestone found.

Unions raise wages more in competitive industries. Among unionized firms, the concentrated industries paid only about 3.6 percent more than the competitive ones.

When unions win more money for

members, who pays? Probably not the boss. Despite several decades of unionization, there has been no significant income redistribution in the U.S. Production workers wages since World War II have gone up, but not as fast as productivity. Increasing output from each worker partly pays for the higher wages.

Bluestone also argues that the wage increases for union workers probably are at the expense of unorganized workers. If so, that means unions divide workers as a whole class even while unifying parts.

"Since higher-profit firms pay higher wages," Bluestone said, "it's not coming out of profits. What generally may be true is that the higher wage paid in union firms may be taken out of the pockets of workers in low-wage industries through higher prices. The people most hurt are those who pay higher prices but don't get higher wages. In some sense, higher wages of auto workers come at the expense of textile workers, particularly unorganized textile workers."

"The burden of the higher standard of living of unionized workers has been shifted from the capitalist class to other sectors of the working class. This means there's a strong responsibility for organizing workers to unionize other workers. Otherwise they take advantage of them."

## ►A reason for mechanization.

Unionization, by raising wages, also effectively restricts entry into occupations as employers try to offset higher labor costs by investing in machinery and holding down employment.

"The impact of unionization is to drive an even greater wedge between unionized and nonunionized workers, because it leads to capitalization," Bluestone argued. Coal miners are a classic case. Miners won more money, companies mechanized, jobs were lost and large numbers of unemployed miners were thrown into the pool of unorganized, low-wage jobs.

In affecting wages, as in nearly every other action, unions are neither saints nor sinners. They are compromise institutions representing a balance between whatever force workers represent—simultaneously affecting the strength of that force—and whatever force the owners and managers of businesses can muster.

## ►A bad public image.

As saintly and sinful, unions have had a complex but generally unfavorable public image. Nearly all surveys of public confidence in leaders and institutions rank unions and their leaders near the bottom. Only 10 percent of the public felt a "great deal of confidence" in labor leaders according to a 1976 Harris poll. Most major institutions, especially government and business, have taken their lumps in pub-

lic ratings recently as well. Now Congress is even less trusted than unions.

That does not mean that most people are against unions. Labor leaders ranked in the middle of a survey taken last year that asked people to judge whether different leaders knew what people really wanted and needed. Also, roughly two-thirds of the public supports workers' right to strike or identifies themselves as being "in favor of" labor.

## ►A schizophrenic feeling.

The gangster image of labor leaders produces much of the negative reaction. But there is also a schizophrenic feeling among many workers who identify with labor at times but also see themselves as antagonistic members of the "public."

Alternatively "the union" may mean, even for a member, either the bureaucracy or the rank and file. One young steelworker's recent comments on the election reflect this mental conflict. "They say if you vote for Carter the labor movement will run this country," he said. "Hey, that's who we want to run the country. They're the majority." Still, it was "they"—not "we."

Unions or, more accurately, unionism does give workers a sense of "we" that is one of the main balances to the American cultural emphasis on "me." Despite union bureaucracies that are unresponsive and despite contractual provisions that cater to individualism, workers still draw the lesson of strength through solidarity from the labor movement, its history and its ideology.

A union steward training session for a service employees local recently demonstrated how elementary unionism conflicts with the individualism and distrust prevalent in American culture. Responding to a sample question about how a steward should handle his or her own grievance, a black woman said, "As a union steward, we'd have to say all grievances are equal. As a human being, we might push our own grievance a little harder. But as a union steward, we shouldn't. Persons are elected to steward to represent others. You're chosen to act for them, not to feather your own nest."

Ultimately, the impact of unions in America today is not only to win wages and benefits but, perhaps even more important, to give workers a small measure of security, a feeling of power, a sense of self-worth, defense against arbitrary management authority and a belief in solidarity with other workers.

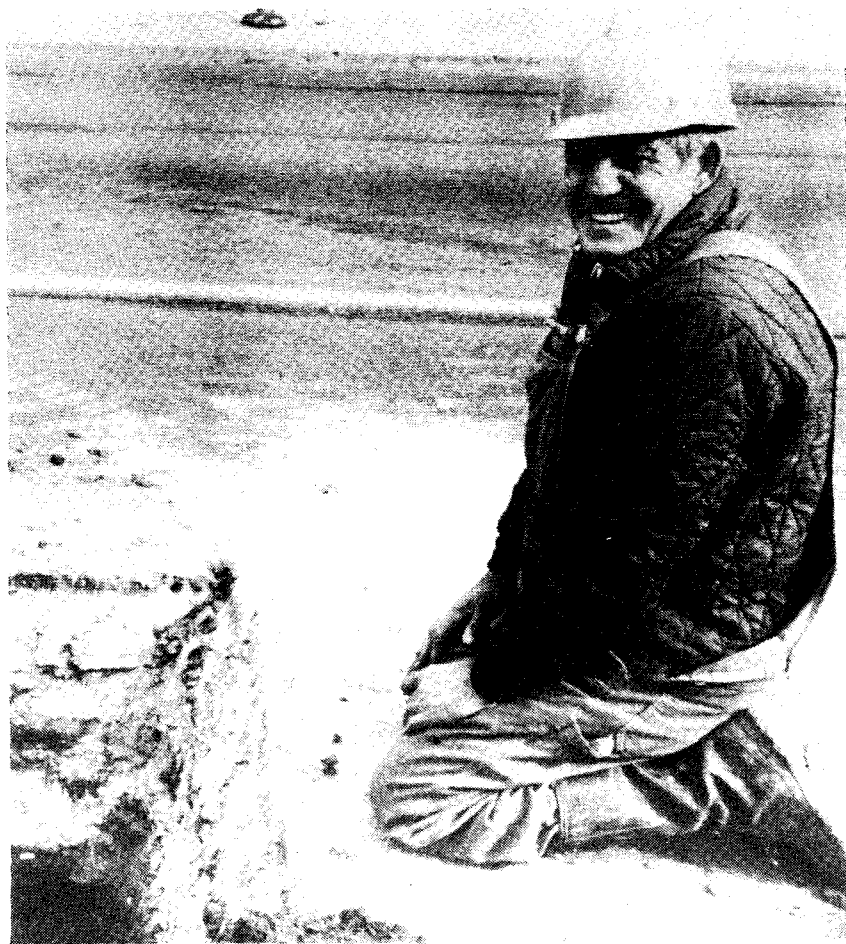
That the labor movement fails so often on those points is simply testimony to the contradictory quality of those inadequate but indispensable creatures of compromise. ■

## ALBUM

Photo by Cidne Hart



In These Times photo by Jane Melnick





# IN THESE TIMES OPINION

## Can Israel-Palestine problem be solved?

By Simon Rosenblum

Israelis and Palestinians will either live together or die together.

Yet any resolution of the dispute must recognize its historic nature:

Zionist settlement in Palestine was predicated on destroying Palestinian society, on politically and physically displacing Palestinian Arabs and socially decomposing that society. From the start Zionists displayed contempt for the Arabs and were unable to comprehend that there could be Arab unease, suspicion and fear of the Zionist incursion. They essentially assumed the Palestinians were a negligible factor and need not be considered seriously. Zionists, instead of probing more deeply into Arab opposition and resentment, ignored the problem or handed it over to the British.

As Martin Buber, the philosopher-Zionist, couldn't help concluding, "Our historical re-entry into our land took place through a false gateway."

The point is not to condemn Jewish immigration into Palestine. Indeed, one cannot but be struck by historian Isaac Deutscher's comment: "If, instead of arguing against Zionism in the 1920s and 1930s I had urged European Jews to go to Palestine, I might have helped save some of the lives that were later extinguished in Hitler's gas chambers."

Nevertheless, a Jewish society in Palestine may be seen as an historic necessity without embracing Zionism. The real question is not the need for and right of Jewish immigration into Palestine, but rather over the form in which it

took place. Zionist policy in Palestine did not have to take the path it did.

### ►British "peacekeepers."

The Zionist goal of an exclusivist Jewish state brought Jewish settlers into divisive struggle with Arabs and allowed the British to remain as "peacekeepers" who first crushed the Arab revolt and then barred immigration of Jewish refugees when they most needed it.

The goal of a socialist binational Palestine could have helped isolate the British as well as reactionary Arab forces and might have paved the way for a much more effective thrust on a world scale to save Jews from Hitler.

A substantial number of leftwing Zionists worked to establish a dialog with Palestinian Arabs on Arab-Jewish cooperation within a binational framework, but were frustrated at every turn by the Zionist establishment.

Would a struggle for a socialist binational state have succeeded?

The historical evidence shows an answer no more conclusive than "maybe."

But a peace that might have been is superior to a Zionist dynamic that had only conflict in its future.

Acknowledging reasons for the conflict, while hardly a solution, at least serves to demystify Israeli-Palestinian relations.

What must be done?

History can only be transcended, not reversed.

### ►Recognizing Israel.

Recognition that Israel was formed through colonization doesn't alter that it

constitutes a Mideast social and historical reality as well as a legitimate national entity. If peace (let alone socialism) has any chance of succeeding, the Israeli people must be granted the unconditional right of self-determination.

Palestine must be divided so each party will have a fair share of it. Return to 1967 borders by Israel and creation of a Palestinian state on the Jordan's West Bank and in the Gaza Strip has been put forward by the Israeli left and given favorable attention by many Mideast commentators. Besides being supported by the major Arab states, it's also likely that the Palestine Liberation Organization would accept such a state and thereby recognize the legitimacy of the state of Israel.

Unless such a settlement includes the right of repatriation and rehabilitation of some Palestinian refugees inside the state of Israel, there'll be no guarantee for lasting peace. Further territorial adjustments by both Israel and Jordan would seem necessary as well.

While the economic viability of the proposed West Bank-Gaza state can be questioned and its ability to absorb Palestinian refugees may be limited, under the circumstances it's difficult to envisage a more favorable outcome. Such a state, while not guaranteeing peace, would maximize its possibility and also reduce the formidable barriers that impede development of authentic socialist forces in the region.

Regretfully, much of this may become academic. While the PLO is rapidly moving toward acceptance of such a solution, Israeli intransigence makes it an unlikely possibility.

American policy is the unknown factor. The easiest approach for the U.S. would be to have Israel return the West Bank to King Hussein of Jordan. Israel would resist but not too vigorously as long as Washington gave certain guarantees.

### ►Treacherous bully.

However, most Palestinian Arabs regard Hussein as a treacherous and bullying conqueror. Reimposing his sovereignty



Simon Rosenblum is a Canadian whose writings have appeared in Israel, Lebanon, France and the U.S.

in the occupied territories invites a desperate and concerted wave of guerilla activity by the PLO, whose popular support would allow it to immediately jeopardize such a peace settlement.

The governments of Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia recognize this and are pushing for a West Bank-Gaza Palestinian state.

While the pro-Western orientation in the Arab countries and dependency on Arab oil have forced changes in the degree of U.S. commitment to Israeli government policies, American policy is still tentative and shows no signs that it will engage in a confrontation with Israel.

Washington realizes that the lack of further momentum toward a settlement is likely to lead to renewed hostilities, including the possibility of a global confrontation. Yet, for various reasons, there is a serious limit to its desire and ability to twist Israel's arm. Without such pressure the likelihood of a Palestinian state is small. Peace, or even a partial resolution of the Palestinian problem seems more distant.

## Letters

### Liked John Judis

Editor:

I especially enjoyed John Judis' report, "East Bay Left Comes Back to life." I trust this will soon be true of Madison; we have two city councillors who are avowed socialists, and, I believe, a county supervisor. One of the socialist councillors, Michael Sack, was recently elected council president, and is soon to announce his candidacy for mayor of Madison.

I was glad to see "the Independent Socialist Newspaper" on your masthead. More reports of local political action and about the individuals involved, please. Congratulations.

—Francis Beecher  
Madison, Wis.

### Already indispensable

Editor:

I picked up a copy of your first issue this past week and to say the least I am very impressed. The quality of your writing, your layout, your "sponsors," and your editorial stance are all outstanding. With just one issue out you are already indispensable. Enclosed is my subscription.

I wish you the very best of luck!

—Jay Kinney  
San Francisco

### Divine timeliness

Editor:

There is an almost divine timeliness, the advent of a non-sectarian people's paper.

Accept our application for four subscriptions.

Wishing you success.

—Richard A. Days  
Local 259 U.A.W.  
New York City

### Among old friends

Editor:

I thought I had heard about all the interesting publications that were available—and all too many that were boring, tedious or worse. We receive about 20 environmental publications, numerous legal and civil liberties type things,

"I took it home wondering  
'Who put this one out?'"

Science, Ms., regional items such as *Pacific Search*, the *Oregon Times*, the *Willamette Observer*—and toward the left political end of the spectrum, *The Elements* and the *Guardian*.

We were introduced to *In These Times* by a young man who was selling *In These Times* at the door of a University of Oregon showing of two films from Chile. I took it home wondering "who put this one out?"—and, upon reading the list of sponsors, felt that I was among old friends.

I find the coverage excellent, the writing top-quality and the point of view compatible. Enclosed is my check for \$15 to cover a year's subscription.

—Jean Anderson  
Swisshome, Ore.

### A pleasant alternative

Editor:

Just read the paper, and if I hadn't already done it, I'd be writing to subscribe right now. It's interesting, non-rhetorical, well laid out, good to look at, creative.... I could go on all day. After the ridiculous rhetoric and boring layout of most "left" papers, and the reactionary politics and boring style of traditional news sources, *In These Times* is a pleasant alternative. Something I'm happy to show my friends, parents, cohorts, etc. I hope your cultural coverage increases. I'm interested in hearing about small unknown local musicians, artists, muralists, theater groups, etc., as well as national. Hope the paper continues and expands.

—Ed Shoenfeld  
Oakland, Calif.

### Ballot box nix

Editor:

The first issue of *In These Times* captured my attention. The layout, particularly the masthead, is quite impressive. A newspaper that can convey its ideas in a fashion that appeals to the eye as well as to the mind takes a giant step in front of other papers of its kind.

Having been exposed for some time to various leftist newspapers, I find the cultural slant of *In These Times* extremely

refreshing and promising.

My major disappointments stem from actual political content. When I looked to the establishment of an independent

**"My major disappointments stem from the actual political content."**

socialist newspaper, I eagerly awaited a paper that I could sell or pass on to someone who had little or no knowledge of socialism, with the hope that their reading of the paper would provide them with an introduction to socialist ideas.

My problem lies in your tacit approval of Carter and heavy reliance on electoral politics. For example, your acknowledgement of the role of blacks and labor in the elections was completely on the mark; however, the importance of the weight of these two sectors will not be realized through the ballot box during the coming socialist transformation. It will be realized outside of big business politics, and the job of socialists is to point toward the road leading out of that jungle and not back into yet another pile of underbrush.

It is important to note that the largest vote cast in the past election was the conscious non-vote. Overall, the American people in their silence cast their vote in opposition to both capitalist parties. That is a positive sign. What socialists are obliged to do with this mandate is to push onward in this new direction and to not waste our precious newsprint and time lying in watchful wait for Jimmy Carter's next move.

—D. Clifford  
Burlington, Vt.



# Know your Supreme Court decisions

*Initiatives must be taken to counteract the right-leaning justices.*

By Joshua Dressler

The 1976-77 Supreme Court term has opened and new controversies abound.

In criminal law the court is expected to decide if the death penalty may be invoked against persons convicted of non-homicide crimes such as rape or robbery. It will also consider if the *Miranda* decision should be overruled. In that case the court earlier held that a citizen in custody must be informed before police questioning that he or she is entitled to an attorney and can refuse to answer all police questions.

If the last year is any indication, decisions in this field will be repressive. Last year police were supported at least in part in 31 of about 40 cases.

More startling and dangerous, however, has been the lack of response to these decisions. Excepting criminal defense lawyers and the most vocal civil libertarians, few people have taken any action to combat them. Many people believe the cases involve "criminals" rights and, therefore, decisions are irrelevant to working people.

In fact, however, the decisions do not primarily involve the rights of "criminals." They involve the rights of citizens, especially the rights of working-class citizens. As famed attorney Clarence Darrow once told people awaiting trial in Chicago's Cook County Jail, "You are here and they (corrupt businessmen) are outside because you are poor and they are rich."

Victims of police misconduct, of course, are not "criminals" but rather citizens accused of crimes. Not only does the pre-

sumption of innocence apply to them but many such people are in fact innocent of any crime. Criminal law cases, put simply, involve the right of citizens not to have their privacy, reputations and jobs destroyed by irresponsible police and other government officers.

Based on last year's decisions citizens have few remaining rights in this field. The most severe loss came with limits placed on the Warren court's exclusionary rule, which requires that evidence obtained by violating a citizen's constitutional rights not be used against that person in a criminal trial. The hope was that such a rule would deter police misconduct and thus reduce harm done to innocent people.

Police rebelled against the rule. They lobbied former President Nixon to appoint Supreme Court justices who would reject the doctrine. In fact, all four Nixon court appointees had spoken against the rule before going on the court.

It came as no surprise, then, when the court narrowed the rule by holding that citizens prosecuted in state courts may not go into federal court to ask that evidence be excluded. This is a major loss because federal courts have tended to be less hostile to the Bill of Rights than state courts.

Even more disturbing, the court disparaged the rule in general, suggesting that its effect is simply to free the guilty. This language, coupled with out-of-court statements by the justices, indicates the rule may be abolished this year. At the least, there appears to be a majority of justices who would limit the rule to those cases in which a police officer can be

shown not only to have violated the Constitution but also to have done so maliciously. This would make the rule virtually meaningless.

The impact on our privacy, reputations and life in general would be enormous. Police would be able to return to the kind of activity memorialized in TV cop shows and in Charles Bronson-Clint Eastwood movies. Citizens would have only the hollow opportunity to spend many years and many dollars suing offending officers.

This need not be so. We cannot change court personnel or their philosophies, but an aggressive movement can go a long way to retrieve some or all lost rights and possibly even to gain greater ones.

For example, Congress and state legislatures can revive the exclusionary rule by statute. What the court can take away by constitutional decision the people can win back by legislation.

Furthermore, state judicial remedies are not foreclosed. There is a rarely used doctrine that a state court may interpret its own constitution more liberally than the Supreme Court does the U.S. Constitution. Thus these rights might be obtained by the state-court "back door" and pressure can be placed on governors to appoint judges sympathetic to citizen's rights.

The most significant remedies, however, may come from other sources. The left has often spoken of community control of police. Now the need is more obvious. Citizen participation in and control



Dressler is a lawyer who teaches at the University of San Fernando Valley College of Law, Los Angeles. His column will appear regularly.

of review boards, which can punish offending officers, and of selection and training of officers is vital.

Finally, new ways to confront police abuse may be in order. It might be possible, for example, to enact legislation obliging judges to hold offending officers in contempt of court. Short jail sentences would be greater deterrents than any Warren court rule ever conceived. Or citizen-controlled administrative agencies might be created with power to fine offending officers.

None of these potential solutions is possible, however, unless people are aware of the impact on them of recent court decisions. It is increasingly important that we understand their significance and educate ourselves and others to interests at stake and options available. ■

## The essentially conservative Moynihan

*New York's new senator brings his dangerous ideas to Washington.*

By Edward Greer

Today's politics offers little hope for urban racial minorities. A look at the ideas of newly elected Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) helps explain why. Moynihan, who actively supports the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill, is a liberal reformer who understands the need for people to have jobs. And a large mass of central-city blacks desperately have that need.

Moynihan is an unusually talented man who stands at the intersection of the worlds of ideas and action. Over the decade, in his service for every president, he has been a formidable actor on the national stage. As the Democratic senator from New York, his influence on Carter administration policy will undoubtedly be considerable. Thus Moynihan's politics matter.

However, despite his liberalism, Moynihan believes the underlying cause of black urban dwellers' problems is blacks themselves. From his perspective, in a liberal pluralistic society such as the U.S., one where racial discrimination is banned by law, the failure of blacks to achieve substantial equality in jobs, education or anything else is a result of their internal weaknesses as a community. Starting with this assumption, Moynihan has attempted—using academic social-science methods—to identify this weakness with precision.

Acknowledging sins toward blacks, Moynihan concludes the past's most baleful effect has been "the deterioration of the Negro family." This "is the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time," he concludes. And consequently: "At this point, the present tangle of pathology is capable of perpetuating itself without assistance from the white world." (Quotations from the so-called "Moynihan Report," March, 1965.)

This explanation was developed a decade ago, when Moynihan was assistant labor secretary in the Johnson administration, and Moynihan still stands by it. A few weeks ago he asserted: "If the family is strong, the economy will be pro-

ductive. If the family is strong, law will be respected and crime will decrease. If the family is strong, the welfare roles will shrink." The nuclear family, in Moynihan's view, is the key to social progress in America.

In a future column I'll explore how Moynihan fixed on this, even though Herbert Gutman's magnificent *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* has shown this to be false. For now let's look at practical implications of Moynihan's explanation.

### ►King cited danger.

Almost immediately after the "Moynihan Report" became public, rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. pointed out the danger of focusing central attention on the black family: "As public awareness increases there will be dangers and opportunities. The opportunity will be to deal fully rather than haphazardly with the problem as a whole—to see it as a social catastrophe and meet it as other disasters are met with an adequacy of resources. The danger will be that the problems will be attributed to innate Negro weaknesses and used to justify neglect and rationalize oppression."

Moynihan's ongoing insensitivity to this danger has resulted in widespread belief in New York's black community—evidenced by a significant minority of blacks who voted recently for the Democratic ticket generally but not for Moynihan—that the man is a racist.

Regardless of the conclusion's accuracy, it seems Moynihan's central meaning is a rejection of increased spending for urban social services.

If the underlying weakness among black Americans is their historically determined family life—which allegedly prevents blacks from seizing opportunities available in contemporary American society—then the best that can be done are governmental measures to strengthen the family. (But governmental action is unlikely to preserve the nuclear family, such measures amounting to little more than reform of welfare eligibility provisions and tax brackets.)



Edward Greer is a former aide of Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Ind., and teaches urban studies at Roosevelt University, Chicago. His column will appear regularly.

From this standpoint it would be quixotic to devote billions of dollars to new central city housing: Ghetto youth lacking properly internalized "father-figure" images would simply vandalize it.

### ►The main tendency.

Rejection of new social welfare programs for central cities and their inhabitants is not simply Moynihan's personal idiosyncrasy. It parallels the main tendency in American political life and there is no reason to think the recent election will change matters. On the contrary, a good preliminary estimate is for continuing neglect of urban infrastructures and social services as part of a continuing tendency for the living standard of American workers to decline.

Moynihan, however, brings to the Senate floor the most sophisticated academic rationales for "benign neglect." He and his intellectual collaborators—most notably at *Commentary* and the *Public Interest*—have elaborated and disseminated these throughout liberal circles. His intellectual ability and academic stature made Moynihan a dangerous man. It enables him to provide a credible and liberal guise for an essentially conservative set of policies. Copyright ©1976 by Edward Greer ■

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## Editorial

## IN THESE TIMES

## Labor and electoral politics

We have said in our first editorials that we believe American politics is approaching an historic turning point. A significant element in this development is that the American labor movement is also entering a new stage. Labor's alliance with the Democratic party, which arose with the New Deal, was founded on a mutual commitment to fostering economic growth, high levels of employment, and the protection of collective bargaining.

These foundations have been buckling under pressure from new conditions. The easy post-World War II growth of world capitalism has come to an end. Global expansion of American corporations no longer adds jobs at home, but replaces them with lower-wage jobs abroad and drains capital and taxes needed to meet domestic needs. Collective bargaining, still a major union concern, cannot deliver essential parts of workers' everyday needs: health, housing, education, retirement, adequate real income in the face of inflation and taxes.

Under pressure of this reality, the leadership of the unions, not just left-led unions, have quietly changed political orientation since 1970-71.

For the first time in this century, the unions have withdrawn support for the bipartisan policy of corporate growth abroad. And they have returned to the CIO's mid-'40s program of planning for full employment and expansion of the public sector.

This reorientation portends a break with the imperialist consensus and a move against corporate power and profit rationality in favor of social planning, a trend that has not been sufficiently recognized or appreciated by the left. It involves concern about government policy, and, therefore, a new role in electoral politics as an indispensable complement to labor's collective bargaining position.

#### ►A new role in politics.

Labor's new direction is indicated in several changes in the political behavior of the established union leadership.

•Since 1971, labor has begun to look to its left for allies—to the poor, the unemployed, blacks and women as essential to beefing up its political leverage. It has demanded channeling government expenditures to social programs needed by these groups, as well as by unionists. And the unions have worked to register blacks and the poor in recent elections.

•In relation to this, labor has pushed congressional as against executive economic planning in changing the tax structure, stimulating the economy, and expanding the public sector.

•Some unions supported George McGovern in 1972; their leaders and others have associated themselves with "Democracy 76" in calling for social control over investment, curbs on multinational corporations, and democratizing the economy.

•AFL-CIO president George Meany's sitting out the 1972 election aided former president Nixon, but he and the AFL-CIO executive committee early called for Nixon's impeachment. And official neutrality in 1972 helped to serve notice that the Democrats could no longer take labor for granted. Meany this year initially supported Sen. Henry M. Jackson, an old-line cold war Democrat, for the presidential nomination, but after supporting President-elect Carter in the recent election,

the AFL-CIO leadership has put him on notice that full employment planning is a top priority and a condition of continuing support.

#### ►Public workers pushed to new activism.

The rapid increase in the organization of public sector workers—teachers, public hospital workers, state, county and municipal workers—has also affected labor's attitudes and practices. These are the fastest-growing unions and have become among the most militant.

Their position as representatives of public workers especially in the face of a growing squeeze on social services of all kinds brought about by fiscal policies that favor corporate growth over social need, have increasingly forced these unions to reevaluate the relative effectiveness of traditional strike actions in the absence of broader political action and this has led to pressure more directly to enter the political process. It is increasingly more difficult to force concessions within established budgetary frameworks by strike threats—especially when public workers' gains can be won only through increased taxes.

These unions, therefore, are being forced to challenge the budgetary priorities themselves, which means that they have to contest for control of those elected offices that are responsible for preparing city and state budgets.

#### ►Trade unions central for left.

For the left as a whole, and particularly for socialists, the trade union movement is centrally important. Unions are the largest and most consistently active organizations of working people, and despite their limitations, they are the most democratic organizations of the working class.

This has been especially true of the various unions that had their origins in the CIO organizing drives in the 1930s—like the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (UE), the International Long-

shoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), the United Automobile Workers (UAW).

But it is also true of many other unions, and even those with the least democratic practice, that the formal democratic structures have provided a framework within which struggles for democratic control have developed in recent years.

Furthermore—and again despite limitations, particularly in the older craft unions—the labor movement has provided and continues to provide the richest experience of working people cooperating across lines of race, ethnic origin, sex and age in a common organizational framework and toward common goals.

In the '60s, when the civil rights movement and then the antiwar movement were major areas of left social and political activity, the trade unions often appeared conservative, and by and large, supported successive administrations in support of the war.

Partly because of this and partly because of their social position, new leftists often found themselves opposing the labor movement. A significant part of the new left defined itself as a middle class movement separate from and posed against the working class.

Even then, however, unions, side by side with the blacks, played a decisive role in the passage of the civil rights acts of 1964 and 1965, as well as in many other aspects of the civil rights struggles. And a significant minority of trade unionists vocally opposed the war and supported the antiwar movement.

The increasing inability of labor unions to get what they want in traditional ways has opened up space for the emergence of left tendencies and insurgencies within many unions. Campaigns like Ed Sadlow's for the presidency of the United Steel Workers are only one symptom of the change taking place. New opportunities for debate and socialist initiatives exist within organized labor at all levels.

If the history of the labor movement has taught us anything it is that neither militant strike actions, nor union political action, per se, necessarily results in sustained anticapitalist consciousness, much less support of socialism or a socialist movement. Like the population as a whole, union members are justly suspicious of politics and have diminishing loyalty to party. Though unions and many active unionists are looking toward contesting for legislative offices from city councils to Congress, the continued absence of a socialist electoral presence in these arenas could easily turn renewed interest back into cynicism and passivity.

The aspirations of working people and of the labor movement will never be realized within the confines of capitalism. But the alternative is not some mystical form of politics outside the established formal democratic framework. A broader political perspective, oriented to the electoral arena, is needed to transcend the narrow horizons of immediate economic demands and to speak to the deeper political consciousness already current among leaders and rank-and-file members.

All recent struggles around issues—whether ending the war in Vietnam, ecology, consumer protection, expanding employment, taxes, inflation, or increasing social services—have found themselves forced into electoral activity by the logic of events and by the process of public policymaking in our society. Social activism, no matter where it starts and no matter what the ideology of its initiators, leads either to electoral participation or to breakup and disillusion.

Socialists involved in the trade union movement or concerned about its future political direction must, therefore, see the development of a broad socialist movement throughout society and focused in the electoral arena as a continuing priority.

